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Religious system of China, its ancient form

337

THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF CHINA.

Honorary Gate in Front of a House.

THE

RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

OF

CHINA,

Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect.
Manners, Customs and Social Institutions connected therewith.

BY

J. J. M. DE GROOT, PH. D.

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VOLUME II.

BOOK I

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD,

Part III, The Grave *(First Half).*

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PART III.

THE GRAVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE GENESIS OF THE GRAVE.

Burial underneath a layer of earth, in coffins, is the usual way in which the Chinese dispose of their dead throughout their Empire. Other methods, to be reviewed in the last chapter of this Volume, are exceptional.

Our dissertation on Coffins and Grave Vaults, inserted on pages 280 *sqq.*, has sufficiently shown that such burial of the dead has generally obtained in China since the remotest times into which written documents of the Empire allow us to penetrate. Whenever record is made of the disposal of the bodies of sovereigns and rulers, even of fabulous or pre-historic ages, it is stated that they were buried. From the oldest times, the written character generally used in the native literature to denote burial is 葬, pronounced tsang, or whatever the local pronunciation may be in the different parts of the realm. In Amoy the pronunciation is *tsòng*. On analyzing this character, we find that it designates a dead person (死) placed upon grass and shrubs (艹) and with grass and shrubs over him; indeed, as we shall forthwith demonstrate, there are grounds for believing that, in the dark mist of ages, burial consisted of a simple covering up of the dead with brambles over which some clay was laid. In ages less remote, the character for tsang more commonly occurs in this shape 塟, the element grass at the foot being replaced by 土, »earth".

In the eleventh chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 29) we read that a grandee of the state of Ts'i who bore the name of »Kwoh Tszĕ-kao said »that the word tsang meant hiding away (藏), and that such »hiding away arose from a desire that men should not see the

» corpse" [1]. In fact, the word » hiding away", represented by the above character, is also pronounced tsang. On this ground Chinese vocabularists in general agree with Kwoh Tszĕ-kao in supposing that the two words are synonymous. We need not lose ourselves in the question as to whether those writers are right, or whether we have simply to do with an absurd play on homonymous words, such as Chinese philologists have, especially during the Han dynasty, always frivolously indulged in to explain not only characters and sounds, but even social and physical phenomena. We need only call attention to the fact that Kwoh Tszĕ-kao's opinion as to the meaning of the character for burial, enunciated in times so far distant, seems also to indicate that burial was not originally a deep burial in the ground, but rather a superficial concealing of the corpse, in a word, a mode of dealing with the dead in such a way as is graphically depicted by the character 葬. [2]

Besides the word tsang and its various local forms, the languages of China contain other terms denoting burial. Of these we shall mention only mai [3], locally pronounced *tâi* or *bâi* at Amoy and generally used there in combination with *tsòng*, as *bâi-tsòng* and *tâi-tsòng*. Mai, *tâi* and *bâi* sound, however, rather crude to native ears, because, as the *Shih ming* said already about a score of centuries ago, » burying without observance of the customary rites is called » mai, this word being synonymous with mei (» to disappear, » to do away with") and signifying a hasty delivery of the body » to interment and decay [4]. In Amoy, only the very poorest burials are sometimes denoted by the word *bâi* or *tâi*, but in all other cases people prefer to use the word *siu* [5] which means » to put by, to clear away" and is almost synonymous with *tsòng*. In the compound *siu-bâi*, which is likewise in general use to denote burying, the element *siu* totally does away with the disagreeable impression aroused by the word *bâi* when it stands alone.

---

1 國子高曰、葬也者藏也、藏也者欲人之弗得見也. Section 檀弓, I, 3.

2 If the Chinese are right in asserting that tsang, » burial", and tsang, » to hide", are synonymous, then the origin of the former word is similar to that of our own word » bury", this being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *birgan*, » to hide, to conceal", which survives in the German and in the Dutch languages as *bergen*.

3 埋. 4 葬不如禮曰埋、埋痗也、趨使葬腐而已也. Ch. 4, § 27. 5 收.

Burial having been practised in China since semi-historical and even legendary times, it would appear at first sight a rather hopeless task to try to find out how it came into existence. But a careful examination of the ancient writings acquaints us with some curious customs of historical China, which were evidently survivals of times more ancient, and these enable us to build up a theory on the subject, especially if we consider them in their connection with the ancient belief in a resurrection of the dead.

Knowing as we do from Chapt. II of the second part of this Book (pages 263 *sqq.*) that the ancient Chinese, as we have learnt from their oldest records, systematically delayed the dressing, coffining and burying of their dead for a considerable time, in hopes that the corpse might revive, we are certainly not going too far when we suggest that in the very deepest night of barbarous ages they may have kept their dead unburied for even a much longer time. Families in which a case of death occurred may then have shrunk altogether from removing the corpse out of their dwelling, den or cavern, and have abandoned the latter to the deceased, taking up their dwelling elsewhere.

This theory will appear more probable on learning that such a line of conduct was pursued in the historical period when the royal house of Cheu was seated on the throne. The *I li* has:

» The sacrificial articles set out on the east are the following: » — Two earthen jars, holding must and spirits. Round wine » cups with a handle, and similar cups without a handle. Wooden » spoons. A couple of white pots filled with uncut kwei pickles [1], » taro, and pickled meat of snails. Two baskets without strings (to » fasten the covers), but with pieces of linen (to place over them), » the one containing chestnuts, unselected, and the other four » slices of dried meat. Mats to place the offerings on stand on the » north side of the articles, and mats to stretch the corpse upon » while it is being dressed stand on their east.

» The pit for storing away the coffin is now dug, but only » so deep as to leave the pegs which fasten the lid to the case » visible" [2]. The *Li ki* (ch. 10, l. 25) states: » Confucius said: 'Under

---

1 The name kwei denotes quite a number of plants. But it is not known to which it refers in this case.

2 東方之饌、兩瓦甒、其實醴酒。角、觶。木柶。毼豆兩、其實葵菹、芋、蠃醢。兩籩無縢、布巾、其

» the sovereigns of the Hia dynasty the coffin was stored away at » the top of the eastern steps. The people of Yin stored it away » between the two pillars, but those of Cheu do so at the top » of the western steps" [1].

» When the coffin is brought in through the gate", thus the *I li* continues, » the principal mourners do not wail. It is taken » up the steps by means of a bier-carriage, and the lid is at that » moment placed underneath the case" [2]. According to Ngao Ki-kung and the editors of the Khienlung edition, it was forthwith placed in the above-mentioned pit.

» On the south side of the western stand of earth [3] they place » scorched corn, to wit, two baskets of millet and two with panicled » millet, each containing also dried fish and dried meat. And » outside the gate they arrange three caldrons, the principal one to » the north of the others. (They contain respectively:) a pig, being » a full set of joints; nine fishes belonging to the chwen and fu » kinds; dried meat, namely the left side (of a pig), without the » ham. For the rest everything is the same as on the previous » occasion" [4], that is to say, as at the sacrifice of the slighter dressing, a description of which has been given on page 84.

Now the *I li* describes the fuller dressing. We have already reproduced on page 338 what it says on this point. Thereupon it continues as follows:

» The principal mourners support the corpse while (the strong » men) deposit it in the coffin. They stamp their feet in the same » manner as they have done before, and the lid is fixed on. The » scorched corn having been arranged on the spot, one basket (of

---

實粟、不擇、脯四脡。奠席在饌北、斂席在其東。掘肂見衽. Chapt. 28, l. 2 *sqq.*

1 夫子曰、夏后氏殯於東階之上。殷人殯於兩楹之間。周人殯於西階之上. Sect. 檀弓, I, 2.

2 棺入、主人不哭。升棺用軸、蓋在下. Ch. 28, l. 6.

3 Our readers are reminded that for the better understanding of the ancient rites Plate I is a plan of an ancient Chinese mansion. It shows where the two earthen stands or tables were placed.

4 熬、黍稷各二筐、有魚腊、饌于西坫南。陳三鼎于門外、北上。豚合升、魚鱄鮒九、腊左胖、髀不升。其他皆如初. Ch. 28, l. 7 *seq.*

» each kind) on either side, the coffin is covered (or plastered over) » with clay, while the bystanders stamp their feet a number of » times not subject to any fixed rules" [1]. Chapter 58 of the *Li ki* (l. 38) says: » In the case of a ruler of a state they use eight » baskets of scorched grain, containing four different kinds; for a » Great officer six baskets are used, containing three kinds, and » for an ordinary officer four baskets of two kinds. Besides, fish » and dried meat are put in them" [2].

The *Li ki* supplies us with some further information about this custom of storing away the coffin in the hall of the dwelling. » In storing away the corpse of a Son of Heaven", says its eleventh chapter (l. 50), » they place pieces of wood around the hearse, » which is painted with dragons, and plaster these pieces over with » clay, so that the coffin is covered with a vault. Over this vault » they spread out a pall on which axe-heads are depicted, whereupon » they contrive around the whole a houselet (of wood) plastered » over with clay. This is a custom to be observed in the case of » a Son of Heaven" [3]. And chapter 58 (l. 37) adds: » On storing » away the body of a feudal ruler, they use a hearse and pile up » pieces of wood to its very top, finally constructing a plastered » shed around it. For a Great officer they use (no hearse, but only) » a pall, piling up the wood against the western wall (that is to » say, around three sides of the coffin, this being placed at the » foot of that wall), and they do not allow the plaster to touch the » coffin. In the case of an ordinary officer, the coffin is inhumed » only so far as to leave the pegs which fasten the lid to the case » visible, and they cover the lid over with clay. (In each of these » cases given) the spot is curtained off" [4].

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[1] 主人奉尸斂于棺。踊如初、乃蓋。設熬、旁一筐、乃塗、踊無算。Ch. 28, l. 16 and 18.

[2] 熬、君四種八筐、大夫三種六筐、士二種四筐。加魚腊焉. Sect. 喪大記, II.

[3] 天子之殯也菆塗龍輴以椁。加斧於椁上、畢塗屋。天子之禮也. Sect. 檀弓, I, 3.

[4] 君殯用輴、攢至其上、畢塗屋。大夫殯以幬、攢置於西序、塗不暨於棺。士殯見衽塗上。帷之. Sect. 喪大記, II.

» The plastering with clay being accomplished", says the *I li*, » the Invoker fetches the Inscription and places it on the spot where » the coffin is stored away. This done, the offerings (enumerated on » pages 363 and 364) are set out. A torchbearer ascends the eastern » steps, followed by the Invoker, who holds the napkins and mats. » They depose the objects which they bear in the south-west corner » of the back chamber, with the frontsides towards the east. The » torchbearer then retires and descends the steps, while the » attendants take up the sacrificial articles, and the strong men, » having washed their hands, carry the caldrons in through the » gate. Having placed them, as on the previous occasion (see page » 84), with the frontsides turned to the west, and the principal one » to the north of the others, they transfer the contents to stands, » laying the fishes with their heads on the left side, in such wise » that the dorsal fins are turned inside, and arranging them in » three portions (of three fishes each). Of the dried meat the joints » of the bones are made to stick out. Now the Invoker takes the » must in his hands, as on the previous occasion (see page 85). » Followed by the attendants with the spirits, the pots (with k w e i » pickles etc.), the baskets (with chestnuts and dried meat) and » the stands, he ascends the eastern steps, the grown-up males » then stamping their feet, while the Overseers of the Waste and » Cultivated Grounds carry the caldrons away. Having past behind » the pillars, the attendants with the sacrificial articles enter the » back chamber, where the bearers of the must and the spirits » take up their station with their faces northward. The others put » down the pots, placing on the right side those which contain the » pickles, and the chestnuts to the south of the latter. The dried » meat is placed to the east of the chestnuts, the pork is placed » near the pots, the fishes follow next, and the dried pork is » arranged on the north of the stand. The must and the spirits » are placed on the south side of the baskets and the (abovesaid) » napkins spread out over the latter, as on the previous occasion.

» When everything has been put in its place, the attendants leave » the back chamber and station themselves on the west side of its » door, each one higher in rank standing to the west of him who » is lower in rank. The Invoker is the last to leave the chamber. » Having closed the door, he places himself at the head of the attend- » ants, and all pass on the west side of the pillars, descending by » the western steps. At this moment the women stamp their feet. » And when the men pass along the Double (see p. 85) by its

» south side, moving in an easterly direction, the grown-up male » mourners stamp their feet.

» The guests now leave, on which the women stamp their feet. » The principal mourner bowingly sees them off outside the gate, » re-enters, and then joins the brothers, to wail with them near » the spot where the coffin is stored away, their faces being turned » to the north. This done, the brothers leave the gate and are » likewise seen off outside the gate by the principal mourner, who » salutes them with bows. And in the end the chief mourners leave » the gate, which puts a stop to the wailing. All of them station » themselves on the eastern side, turning their faces to the west; » the gate is then closed, and the principal mourner having made » bows with his hands joined together, he retires into his mourning » shed" [1].

In the interesting practices thus revealed to us by the two most important literary relics of ancient China we easily recognize survivals of a much higher antiquity, nay, of barbarous times. They show us how the savage Chinese, unable as yet to understand the reality of death by clearly distinguishing it from sleep or swoon, kept the bodies of their dead in their dens, hoping that they would revive. From other customs, obviously likewise survivals of barbarous times, we have learned that they

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[1] 卒塗、祝取銘置于肂。乃奠。燭升自阼階、祝執巾席從。設于奧、東面。燭反降、及執事執饌、士盥舉鼎入。西面北上如初、載魚左首進鬐、三列。腊進柢。祝執醴如初。酒豆籩俎從、升自阼階、丈夫踊、匎人徹鼎。奠由楹內入于室、醴酒北面。設豆、右菹、菹南栗。栗東脯、豚當豆、魚次、腊特于俎北。醴酒在籩南、巾如初。

既錯者出、立于戶西、西上。祝後。闔戶、先、由楹西降自西階。婦人踊。奠者由重南東、丈夫踊。

賓出、婦人踊。主人拜送于門外、入、及兄弟北面哭殯。兄弟出、主人拜送于門外。衆主人出門、哭止。皆西面于東方、闔門、主人揖就次。

Ch. 28, l. 18 *sqq.*

tried to resuscitate their dead by calling to them, by screaming and howling (pages 243 *sqq.*), by pulling their limbs and shaking them (page 257), that they stuffed their mouths with morsels of food and placed the same at their side (pp. 356 *sqq.*); we find now that in the end, when decay set in, compelling the living to keep themselves at a distance, they cast a layer of branches or brambles over the corpse, covering these with clay, to prevent such animals as might be attracted by the smell from destroying the corpse. Bearing in mind that in Central and Northern China the soil consists mainly of clay or *loess;* considering moreover that, as in the case of nearly all barbarous peoples, the savage Chinese undoubtedly dwelt chiefly along the sides of rivers and these, as a matter of course, mostly flow through clay deposits, and that in those times the soil was covered with vast woods and thickets, — then we see that branches and brambles together with clay were the materials assigned by nature for covering the dead, nay, the only materials that could be found serviceable for the purpose. But before thus withdrawing the dead from the teeth and claws of wild animals, the living placed a provision of eatables at their side: grain deprived of its germinating power by the process of scorching, dried fish and dried meat — food indeed which keeps good for a long time and would thus be fit for use at any moment, should the expected revival occur. Neither was the soul, hovering outside the wood and clay, forgotten: it was fed by means of a special set of provisions, arranged in a separate part of the den, well closed in, so that it might likewise be out of the reach of wild animals. All these preparations made, the living wailingly called to the corpse for the last time, in order to bring life back into it, and then withdrew, closing the entrance of the den and taking up their abode in a temporary shed, with the intention of returning to the old quarters as soon as the revival should have taken place.

The Inscription spoken of in the above extracts from the *I li* was a seat for the soul, the prototype of the modern soul banner which has been the object of our attention on pages 174 *sqq.* Though the custom of placing it near the spot where the corpse was stored away may have arisen in a more advanced state of civilization, this nevertheless strengthens our theory of burial inside the dwelling being closely connected with the hopes of the living, that the body might be repossessed by the soul and thus return to life. Ngao Ki-kung says: »The encoffined body having been covered » with clay on the spot where it was stored away, the filial sons

» mournfully bore in mind that the soul might be in doubt » whether it had to do with its own body or not, and therefore » erected the Inscription on the spot, to give the soul cognizance » of the place where the body had been deposited. They did this » out of love and respect" [1].

When, says the *I li*, the deceased was properly stored away in the house underneath a layer of wood and clay, and the nearest kindred had retired, closing the gate behind them, they took up their abode in mourning sheds. It was indeed an established custom in the pre-Christian epoch for such relations, whenever a case of death occurred, to retire to such sheds, rudely built of wood and clay. This had then even become more than a custom, being considered by the nation as a sacred rite; and as such it has been observed through all ages down to the present day, though now in the modified shape described on page 27. In the sixth chapter of this Volume, which will be specially devoted to the usages connected with the period of mourning, this subject will be dealt with more in detail.

In the historical antiquity of China as it is revealed to us by the *I li* and the *Li ki*, the storing away of the dead in the hall of the house was not a final burial, as we believe it to have been in times still more remote. After a certain lapse of time which, as we have seen on page 264, varied in length according to the dignity and rank of the deceased, it was then followed by a burial outside the house. However, there are faint traces of final home-burial discoverable as late as the post-Christian era. The *Kai yü tsʿung khao* [2], a very valuable collection of notes on miscellaneous subjects, published at the close of the last century by Chʿao Yih [3], says: » Among the customs of the people there is one of storing away » encoffined corpses in the dwelling house, thus converting this » into a burial place. In former times such proceedings were called » mock burials. In the *Tʿung tien* (see page 236) mention is made » of such a mock burial which brought good luck after three years. » It discusses the case of one Khih Shen who, at the death of his » mother having deposited her coffin outside the northern wall of

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[1] 柩在肂中而塗之、孝子慮神疑於其柩、故置銘于此若使之知其處然。愛敬之心也. The Khienlung edition of the *I li*, ch. 28, l. 19.

[2] 陔餘叢考.

[3] 趙翼.

» the hall of his house, was favoured with good fortune after three » years. Wei Kwan held that he ought not to lay aside his mourning, » and while discussing this question with him, Shen said: 'This » country is low and wet, and high only inside the city. Therefore » I buried her in the house in which she lived, and sacrifice » to her in the same hall wherein she took her meals; and I do » not see why this should not be allowed'" [1].

The Books of the Tsin Dynasty relate this episode somewhat differently. According to them, Khih Shen lived in the third century of our era. » When his mother was at the worst, he had » no cart, nor did he, when she had breathed her last, ask for » one on which to place her encoffined corpse. His family was so » poor that they had nothing wherewith to purchase horses; so he » gave the woman a mock burial outside the northern wall of the » hall of his dwelling. Opening the door every morning and every » evening, he worshipped her on the spot and wailed. By breeding » fowls and cultivating garlic, and by all possible means which he » could think of, he succeeded three years after her decease in » procuring eight horses. Then placing the coffin on a cart, he » conveyed it to the tomb, and carried the earth for the tumulus » on his own back. He had scarcely finished this work, when the » Emperor appointed him Military Commander for the subjection » of the east. He afterwards obtained the dignity of President of » a Board instead thereof" [2].

The *Kai yü ts'ung khao* moreover relates: » The *San liu hien* » *tsah*, written by Ch'ing Khi (during the Sung dynasty), says

---

[1] 世俗有攢柩於所居之室、遂以爲葬所者。古人謂之假葬。通典有假葬三年卽吉。議郤詵母亡便於堂北壁外下棺三年卽吉。衛瓘以其不應除服議之、詵云、此方下濕、惟城中高、故遂葬於所居之宅、祭於所養之堂、不知其不可也. Chapter 32.

[2] 詵母病苦無車、及亡不欲車載柩。家貧無以市馬、乃於所住堂北壁外假葬。開戶朝夕拜哭。養雞種蒜竭其方術、喪過三年得馬八匹。輿柩至冢、負土成墳。未畢召爲征東參軍。徙尙書郎. Ch. 52, l. 5.

» that Hu Khiai having purchased a house, whilst repairing it » found between two walls standing close each other an old hall » with a stored-away corpse. The corpse was lying down as if it were » alive, but on touching it it crumbled to dust. Having informed » the authorities of the case, he transferred those remains elsewhere » for burial" [1].

Home-burial may now be supposed to have disappeared from amongst the customs of the nation. But the temporary storing away of coffins at home until a suitable burial site has been procured beyond the precincts of the quarters of the living, survives, as we have had occasion to state on pages 105 *seq.*, and also on page 268. That the ancient custom of covering such coffins, while in the hall, with wood and clay has quite died out, we may conclude from our own investigations in China and from the absence of all reference to it in the native literature. The Khai yuen Codex alone gives it amongst its prescriptions. » One basket of » scorched corn shall be placed at the head of the coffin, one » basket at the foot, two baskets on the left, and two on the » right; but for officials of the sixth degree and for persons of » still lower rank there shall be on either side only one basket. » Subsequently the coffin must be covered with wood; this wood » shall be plastered with clay, and over the coffin thus stored » away shall come a tent or awning as a protection from dust. » An Invoker must take the Inscription and place it on the spot, » but for persons of the sixth degree and still lower in rank a soul » tablet must be placed there after the storing away, on the east » side" [2]. The Rituals for Family Life contain only this rescript relative to the Inscription, so that there is reason to conclude that the other aforesaid practices mentioned in the Khai yuen Codex had already fallen into disuse in the twelfth century. Szĕ-ma Kwang leaves the plastering at the option of the individual.

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[1] 程棨三柳軒雜說、胡楷買屋修理、於夾壁中得故攢堂一尸。僵臥如生、觸之則應手灰滅。遂白有司、遷葬之.

[2] 設熬穀首足各一筐、傍各二筐、六品以下一筐。以木覆棺上、乃塗之、設帟於殯上、帟柩上承塵。祝取銘置於殯、六品以下既殯設靈座於殯東.

The *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* does not say a single word about the matter in question, from which we venture to infer that the ancient semi-burial in the hall of the dwelling has been totally abolished as an official rite since a couple of centuries.

Taking now for granted that in very ancient times the dwellings of the living were used in China as graves, it is easy to see how burial in the earth has there become the prevalent method of disposing of the dead; for we may presume that the ancient Chinese lived in caverns excavated in the clay. » In early times", says chapter 30 of the *Li ki* (l. 22), » the sovereigns, our ancestors, » had no palaces, nor dwellings; but in winter they lived in » artificial caverns, and during the summer in nests (huts?) made » of branches" [1]. The *Yih king* (ch. 15) has: » In remote antiquity men dwelt in caverns and lived in the wilderness" [2], and Liu Ngan wrote in the second century before our era: » There were » amongst the peoples of antiquity men who lived in caves of » declivities, and yet were not forsaken by the spirits" [3]. Now seeing that in the northern provinces of China the soil consists chiefly of *loess* clay, the conclusion becomes obvious that by those » caves in declivities" are meant caves dug out in the steep banks formed by rivers and riverlets washing out their courses through the *loess;* for, there is no reason to doubt that the savage Chinese generally lived on the banks of streams, this being a phenomenon amongst uncivilized races all over the globe. Such cave-dwellings still exist as abodes for millions of people. This is well known from the descriptions given by travellers, especially from those supplied by Dr. Von Richthofen [4].

In process of time, culture advancing, the dwellings excavated in steep banks of clay may have gradually given way to small huts of clay. As big forests most likely covered the *loess* plains in primeval times, branches of trees may have entered into the construction of these huts; people may even have constructed huts of branches and covered them over with a layer of clay. Such dwellings, so easily erected from the materials which the soil

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1 昔者先王未有宮室、冬則居營窟、夏則居橧巢. Sect. 禮運, I.

2 上古穴居而野處. Sect. 繫辭, II.

3 古之人有居巖穴、而神不遺者. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. I.

4 China, I, ch. 2.

supplied, constituted the common abodes of the living in semi-historical times, being clearly defined in the *Shi king*, in an ode generally believed to date from the twelfth century before our era. Celebrating some of the exploits of Tan-fu, an ancestor of the royal house of Cheu, who about the year 1325 B. C. migrated with his clan from the present Shensi province to the country of Ki and there founded a colony which afterwards became the principality of Cheu, this ode says: »They made for themselves dwellings of » clay along the rivers Ts'ü and Ts'ih. Their old chiefs and Tan-fu » dwelt in sheds and caves resembling potter's kilns, for there » were no houses then. Arrived at the foot of mount Ki.... he » called his overseers of works and the chieftains of the people, » and ordered them to erect houses. The strings were stretched, » the boards tied together and filled up, and so the temples » for the dead were made, grand and beautiful" [1]. Even now-a-days the walls of countless houses are thus constructed in China. Building frames of parallel boards are filled up with clay mixed with lime; this mixture is well rammed together, and then the frames are raised, the lower boards being removed and placed above; and so the process is continued till the walls are completed. It is not unlikely that this method has developed itself from the more primitive way of constructing huts of clay »in the shape of potter's kilns". Such habitations are still to be found in China at the present day by tens of thousands; and when we say that in northern China nine tenths of all the dwelling houses are built of clay, we certainly do not exaggerate. Reeds and rushes are used to strengthen them, branches and wood having become everywhere extremely scarce in consequence of the destruction of the forests. Many of these huts are square and have flat roofs; very numerous also are those of a round shape with vaulted roofs. The latter at first sight are hardly distinguishable from potter's kilns or brick-kilns such as are built in China at the present day. At this day we may indeed compare the dwellings of the bulk of the people to such kilns, just as did the unknown ancient poet whose lines we have quoted.

Considering now that in primeval times the dwellings of the

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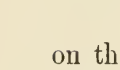
[1] 自土沮漆。古公亶父陶復陶穴、未有家室。至于岐下...。乃召司空、乃召司徒、俾立室家。其繩則直、縮版以載、作廟翼翼. Sect. 大雅, I, ode 3.

living were caves excavated in the clay, or hollow heaps of clay strengthened inside by means of branches or rude pieces of wood; admitting also that the ancient Chinese, when a case of death occurred, left the corpse alone in such a dwelling, covering it up with branches or pieces of wood over which they put some clay — then we have not only an answer to the question how the custom of burial arose, but also a fair idea of the shape of the oldest graves. As civilisation advanced, improved methods of house-building arose, such as we are introduced to by the ode of the *Shi king*, and the houses gradually became too valuable among the well-to-do to be deserted for the sake of the dead. Then the custom will have arisen of depositing the latter elsewhere, in a hut constructed after the more ancient and cheaper fashion; and it is remarkable that during the Cheu dynasty and that of Han this is still recognizable in the graves in so far as we know them from the ancient descriptions. Indeed, at the temporary burial inside the dwelling (comp. page 365) pieces of wood were piled up around the coffin and a wooden shed plastered over with clay was constructed around these, and this was done as late as the Han dynasty at the final burial in the grave, a wooden vault taking, however, the place of the shed (see pages 290 and 300). But further, even at the present day the graves in the central and northern provinces of the Empire resemble the huts of the living in ancient times, being round heaps of clay, either vaulted on the top  , or semi-globular or conical in shape; the coffin inside is in many cases not sunk deep beneath the level of the soil around, and people hardly ever neglect to cover it with reeds, rushes or mats before piling the earth over it. It is remarkable also that at such tumuli of the better class there often is a stone standing in front, inserted in the clay, about one foot in size, and cut so as to represent a closed door, like these figures: . No practical object being connected with this stone, we can scarcely doubt that it represents the entrance to the dwellings of clay in which, in times past, the living left the dead behind. It will be seen from Chapter V that in former centuries many of the large grave hills, such as were thrown up for kings and grandees, possessed a sort of tunnel denoted in the books by the character 隧, being evidently nothing more than a modification of the door of graves of humbler size. Such

tunnels, now-a-days constructed exclusively for imperial tombs, will be mentioned in our description of the Mausolea of the

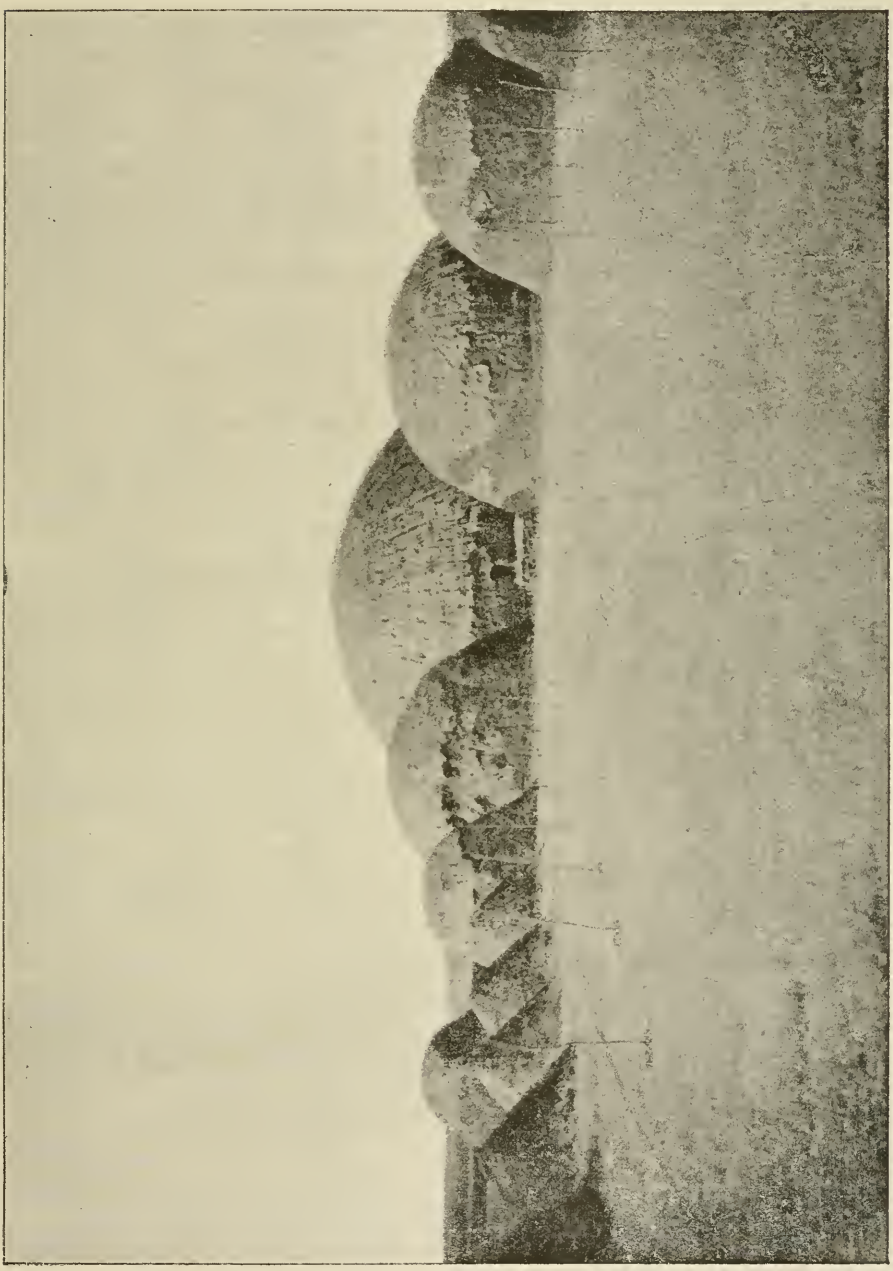


Fig. 24. A Family Grave-yard in Chihli.

monarchs of the late Ming dynasty (Ch. XIV). In that part of our work it will also be shown that in the province of Fuhkien

people are still in the habit of constructing in front of graves of the better sort premises exactly corresponding to the premises of the dwellings of the living and denoted by the same names; moreover we may state here that graves of bygone ages having roofs of granite built over them like houses in miniature are extant to this day.

Among savage and semi-civilized peoples in general, families do not separate when their numbers are increased by birth. They remain together for many generations, thus forming a clan or tribe, the members of which display great mutual coherence. Such is still the actual state of affairs in the Chinese Empire, and has undoubtedly been handed down from antiquity. Under these circumstances, the custom of burying the dead in their houses must, in primeval times, naturally have called into existence a village of the dead in or near each settlement of the living. Family grave-yards or clan grave-grounds, as we might call them, still abound in China at the present day, though they are exclusively laid out by the well-to-do who can afford to procure a plot of ground required for the purpose. Fig. 24 represents one of the most common kind, as they are found in the province of Chihli. The grave of the oldest ancestor is placed in the centre. It is the largest of all, and those of younger date gradually decrease in size, it being customary to add some clay to every tumulus once a year, at a great festival devoted to the reparation of tombs. The aspect of such grave-yards vividly reminds one of villages of clay huts »resembling potter's kilns", and the inexperienced eye cannot at first sight distinguish them from ordinary hamlets. Anciently every village was, no doubt, protected against inimical neighbours by a wall of clay. This wall is in many cases still retained for burial grounds such as the above. It sometimes runs only along the back of the ground, but in most instances encloses three sides, leaving the front open, where the entrance to the village must have been. For family graves of the nobility and of the Imperial kindred these primitive walls have become walls of bricks, high and strong, with a large gate in front, as the reader will learn from Chapter XIV.

The ancient method of burying the dead in the houses under brambles and wood over which came a layer of clay, may perhaps render it clear how it happened that, as the ancient tradition reproduced on page 282 asserts, coffins or vaults of earthenware came

into vogue even before coffins and vaults of wood were generally used. The art of burning clay must have been known at a very early date, as it may be supposed that human dwellings, when filled with provisions of dry wood or other combustible matter, often fell an easy prey to conflagrations which turned the clay into one solid mass. And so it naturally occurred to the people to discontinue the use of unburnt clay for covering up the dead at home, and to use burnt clay instead thereof. Yet the ancient method was not so soon entirely supplanted by the new, as is seen from the fact that unburnt clay was still in vogue for the home-burial during the Cheu dynasty.

CHAPTER II.

THE GRAVE AS THE DWELLING OF THE SOUL.

In the preceding chapter the reader has been introduced to the primeval times when the living left their dead in their dwellings, in expectation that they might revive, and set out food and drink by their side, in order that the manes, hovering about the body and expected to return therein, might at any time satisfy their hunger and thirst. These customs prove that the primeval grave was believed to be occupied by the disembodied soul, either for all time, or occasionally. And this belief we may suppose to have been cherished also in later ages with regard to the huts which were then built on purpose to store away the dead, and which have ever since been constructed under the name of graves.

A belief in the cohabitation of the body and the soul after the former has been deposed in its last resting place is traceable, by means of Chinese literary remains, to very high antiquity. In chapter VI of the second part of this Book (page 348) we have drawn attention to it, and stated that modern burial customs prove it to be still strongly entertained at the present day. As likewise set forth in the same part of our work, it lies at the bottom of a very large category of conceptions and practices relative to the tomb, the treatment of the body which lies therein and the worship of the soul residing on the spot — a category so comprehensive that the description thereof will occupy almost the whole of the present Volume and a great part of the next Book. The belief holds so prominent a place in the Religion of the Dead, that it may be useful to dwell for a few moments upon it now and to insert, as a kind of introduction to this part of our work, some extracts from the native literature showing what it has been since ancient times, through the mediæval ages down to the present day.

The *Li ki* (chapter 30, l. 20) has bequeathed an allocution of Confucius to his disciples, in which the following passage occurs: » When ceremonial usages were coming into existence, people, in » case of death, went up to the housetop and there exclaimed:

» 'Ho ... So-and-so, come back!' After this, they filled the mouth » of the dead with uncooked rice and placed cooked food upon » stands. They looked up to heaven and hid the corpse on the » ground; the soul connected with the body descended, while » the sentient afflatus remained on high" [1]. This extract shows that Confucius cherished the conviction that the belief in the soul's abiding at the grave had existed from times immemorial, as also that the human manes were thought to consist of two parts which separated after death. This theory will be amply treated of in the first chapter of the next Book.

The prevalence in pre-Christian times of a belief in the presence of the soul in the grave is also evidenced by the 27th. chapter of the *Li ki*. This relates (l. 29) that Confucius, on being asked by Tseng-tszĕ what the son of a concubine must do when his eldest brother by the principal wife happened to die in a foreign country, answered: » When such an heir-son dies, the other shall announce it at the graves of the ancestors" [2]. Perusing the *Wu Yueh ch'un ts'iu* [3] or » Annals of the states of Wu and Yueh" which existed during the Cheu dynasty in the present provinces of Kiangsu and Ch'ehkiang, we come across the following episode: » Wu once » more harbouring plans to attack Ts'i, the ruler of this state sent » his daughter to Wu as a hostage. The result was that the king » of Wu (*viz.* Hoh Lu, mentioned on page 290) betrothed his eldest » son Po to the maiden. But, being hardly more than a child, » she could not banish her native country from her thoughts; she » wept and cried by day and by night, and fell ill. Hoh Lu thereupon » built a gate in the north, gave it the name of 'Gate facing » Ts'i', and sent the girl to the spot, that she might stroll about » on the top of it. And still she did not turn her thoughts away » from home. She grew worse and worse every day, and when her » end drew near she said: 'The dead have consciousness; therefore » be sure to bury me on the top of the Yü mountains, that I » may from thence look out upon the kingdom of Ts'i'. As Hoh

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[1] 夫禮之初及其死也升屋而號告曰、皐某復。然後飯腥而苴孰。故天望而地藏也、體魄則降、知氣在上. Sect. 禮運, I.

[2] 若宗子死、告於墓. Sect. 曾子問, II.

[3] 吳越春秋.

» Lu felt compassion for her, he complied with her desire to the » letter; and she was buried on the top of the Yü mountains" [1]. Although this episode savours of romantic invention, and the historical work from which it is quoted contains many anecdotes of a similar unauthentic character, yet it shows at any rate that the presence of the soul in the grave was a prevalent article of faith in the first century of our era, when Ch'ao Yih [2], who is unanimously stated to be the author of the book, lived and wrote.

Of a certain Yü Kwun [3], a standard example of filial piety who lived in the third century, we read in the Authentic Histories: » His father having admonished him beforehand to beware of wine- » drinking, he expostulated with himself whenever he had passed » the bounds of sobriety, saying: 'I have paid no heed to my » father's exhortations; why has he given lessons to his people?' » Then he gave himself thirty blows with a stick *at his father's* » *grave*" [4]. Of another man of the third century, a high dignitary of the name of T'ien Yü [5], the following is related: » Sickness » having brought him to the verge of death, he said to his wife » and children: 'When you bury me, be sure to lay me by the » side of Si Men-pao [6]. But they objected to this, saying: 'How » can we do so? Si Men-pao was a divine person in bygone ages!' » Whereupon Thien Yü replied: 'His course of conduct was in » exact contrast to mine; if the dead have influence, then he will » certainly endow me with virtues'. His wife and children complied » with his desire" [7].

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1 復謀伐齊、齊侯使女爲質於吳。吳王因爲太子波娉齊女。女少思齊、日夜號泣、因乃爲病。闔閭乃起北門、名曰望齊門、令女往遊其上。女思不止。病日益甚、乃至殂落女曰令、死者有知、必葬我於虞山之巓以望齊國。闔閭傷之、正如其言、乃葬虞山之巓. Chapter II.

2 趙曄. 3 庾袞.

4 初袞父誡袞以酒、每醉輒自責曰、余廢先父之誡、其何以訓人。乃於父墓前自杖三十. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 88, l. 9. 5 田豫.

6 A renowned grandee of the fifth century before our era. Some particulars about him and about his career are on record in ch. 126 of the *Shi ki*, l. 12 *sqq.*

7 會病亡戒其妻子曰、葬我必於西門豹邊。妻

Many more extracts might be quoted from literature to illustrate the belief that the grave is inhabited by the soul of the dead man who lies therein. But it would be superfluous to do so, since the customs and practices to the description of which this Volume and a great part of the next Book are devoted form one long series of such illustrations. One point we cannot here pass unnoticed. The Chinese not only think that the soul of a dead man intimately coheres with the coffin in which his body is inclosed, provided such a coffin be properly made of wood imbued with Yang afflatus (page 348): — they extend this belief also to the grave, feeling convinced that the manes thoroughly pervade the earth which envelops the coffin. This conception is closely connected with the doctrine preached by the fung shui system and to which we shall have to revert especially in the twelfth chapter of this Volume, that a grave works efficaciously upon the prosperity of the offspring in case it is placed on such a spot and in such a position that the life-emanating influences of the heavens or the Yang principle can freely concentrate upon it and pervade it in all its parts. The following extract may show the firm hold it had upon the people in times gone by. » According to the Memoirs of Wu, » Ching Tsuen, whose title was Wen-yuen, was a wine bibber » who, when his death was imminent, said to his comrades: » 'Bury me in the immediate neighbourhood of a potter's kiln, in » order that, when my person has been converted into earth after » a hundred years, I may be lucky enough to be made a wine- » pot of; this would really steal my heart'" [1]. Although this story be no more than a joke of a whimsical drunkard, yet it may serve as a proof that Ching Tsuen believed his sentient entity could possibly inhabit the clay of his tomb even after it had passed through the blazing heat of a potter's fire.

予難之言、西門豹古之神人、那可葬於其邊乎。豫言、豹所履行與我敵等耳、使死而有靈必與我善。妻子從之. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Wei, ch. 26, l. 9.

[1] 吳志、鄭泉字文淵性嗜酒、臨卒謂同類曰、必葬我陶家之側、庶百歲之後化而爲土幸取爲壺、實獲我心. *Yuen kien lei han*, ch. 181, l. 23.

CHAPTER III.

PLACING FOOD AND DRINK IN THE GRAVE. SACRIFICING ON THE TOMBS. GRAVE ALTARS AND GRAVE TEMPLES.

In the last chapter of the First Volume (p. 356) we have described how the Chinese, in the most ancient times on record, filled the mouth of the dead with rice, and set eatables by the side of the corpse, that it might have food ready at hand at the moment of revival. And in the first chapter of the present Volume we have stated that they placed scorched grain with dried fish and meat near the corpse when it was temporarily buried inside the dwelling. No wonder then that they observed this same custom also on depositing the corpse in the grave, graves being, according to our theory set forth in the first chapter, originally the common human dwellings of clay wherein the living left the dead alone in expectation of their return to life.

Burying food with the dead was a custom of wide prevalence during the Cheu dynasty, as may be inferred from the fact that it was then an established rite of generally acknowledged import. In those times, as may be seen from passages quoted from the *I li* on our page 198, sacrificial meat which had done service at the farewell sacrifice was carried to the tomb in baskets placed in carts specially assigned for this purpose, and concealed inside the vault by the side of the coffin. The same work sums up the articles of consumption destined for the grave in the case of ordinary officers and their nearest relations as follows: »Two baskets »(for the meat). Three hampers, holding respectively millet, panicled »millet, and wheat [1]. These hampers are made of kien grass, and »their contents are all washed clean [2]. Three earthen pots with »pickled meat, preserved meat and sliced food; they are covered »with coarse linen. Two earthen jars with must and spirits, covered

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1 苞二。筲三、黍、稷、麥. Chapt. 29, l. 34.

2 菅筲三、其實皆淪. Ch. 31, l. 45.

» with linen of fine texture. All these articles are placed on » wooden trays" [1]. » The must", adds chapter 54 of the *Li ki* (l. 16), » is distilled from rice. The wooden trays containing the pots, jars » and hampers having been placed inside the visible part (*i. e.* the » vault), the wooden frame (see page 290) is inserted in the pit" [2].

The quantity of victuals placed in the grave was proportioned to the position of the deceased. This is proved by the extract from the *Li ki*, reproduced on page 198, and by a passage from the same Classic (chapter 12, l. 1), which reads: » When the eldest son of a » Ruler by his principal wife dies between sixteen and nineteen » years of age, there are three carts; when his son by a concubine » dies at that age, there is only one cart, and there is one also » at the burial of the eldest son of a Great officer by his principal » wife, if he is between sixteen and nineteen years old" [3].

It appears that in Confucius' time the quantity of edibles placed in the grave in case of members of princely families was sometimes excessively great. » When Siang, the Ruler of the state » of Sung, committed his consort to the earth, there were", it is stated in the eleventh chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 24), » one hundred » pots of pickled and preserved meat. Tseng-tszĕ said: 'They call » such things articles for the use of the soul, and yet he filled » them!' " [4]. This disapprobation pronounced by the principal disciple of Confucius shows that in those times the victuals placed in the tomb were no longer regarded as being destined for the body, but were rather believed to constitute a sacrifice to the manes which, according to the prevailing opinions, dwelt with the corpse in the grave. The passage furthermore seems to indicate that it had then become habitual not to fill the pots, which signifies a decline of the ancient custom bordering on extinction. And finally, we learn from it that ethical philosophy at that time had raised its voice

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[1] 甕三、醢醢屑、冪用疏布。甒二、醴酒、冪用功布。皆木桁. Ch. 29, l. 34.

[2] 醴者稻醴也。甕甒筲衡實見閒、而后折入. Sect. 雜記, I, 2.

[3] 君之適長殤車三乘、公之庶長殤車一乘、大夫之適長殤車一乘. Sect. 檀弓, II, 1.

[4] 宋襄公葬其夫人、醢醢百甕、曾子曰、既曰明器矣、而又實之. Sect. 檀弓, I, 3.

in favour of simplicity in regard to the custom. Exaggerated simplicity was nevertheless decried as sinful, for in chapter 13 of the *Li ki* (l. 5) we read: »Yiu Joh (a disciple of Confucius) said: »'Ngan-tszĕ, who wore the same robe of fox fur for thirty years, »had only one cart of victuals sent off, and this, on arriving at »the grave, was sent back home. The Ruler of a state has seven »victims, and seven carts for sending them to the tomb; a Great »officer has five victims and five such carts; how can Ngan-tszĕ, »(whose father was a Great officer) be said to know well the »established rites?'" [1].

By the way it may be noted that carts for conveying articles of food to the grave at burials are mentioned also in the *Cheu li*. »At Great funerals", says this book, »the Decorator of Carts »decorates the carts which are sent away to the grave, subsequently »arranging them in order and starting them" [2].

As stated above, it had become an established notion already in the time of Confucius that the victuals placed in the grave were destined for the *soul*. In later ages, this notion gradually induced people to replace such offerings by sacrifices *upon* the tomb it being more convenient for the living to present them in this wise, while on the other hand the soul could partake of them just as easily. Moreover, such victuals could be renewed from time to time, and thus answer the purpose of refreshing the disembodied soul better. As a matter of fact the books of the pre-Christian epoch contain but very scanty references to sacrifices *upon* the graves, while in later times the practice of placing food inside the grave has become entirely obsolete. Neither do the said books say a single word about sacrifices on the tomb at the time of burial; and from the fact that the *I li* is silent about such a ceremony, notwithstanding, as has been shown on pages 83, 118, 151 and 363, it contains elaborate descriptions of several sacrifices connected with other funeral customs, we may conclude that sacrificing on the tombs was, in the age of Cheu, by no means an integrate part of the rites connected with deaths.

As to the scanty references of the ancient books to sacrifices

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[1] 有若曰、晏子一狐裘三十年、遣車一乘、及墓而反。國君七个、遣車七乘、大夫五个、遣車五乘、晏子焉知禮. Sect. 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 巾車大喪飾遣車、遂廞之行之. Ch. 27, l. 17.

upon the tombs — we have seen on page 283 how the *Shi ki* relates that in the twelfth century before our era the loyal Fei-lien, in fulfilling his duty towards his monarch Cheu, erected an altar on his grave. This naturally suggests that sacrifices on tombs were in vogue at that time. And although little credit is to be given to this Fei-lien episode, which rests perhaps on no historical base, yet it proves unmistakably that in the second century before our era, when the *Shi ki* was composed, there either prevailed, or had prevailed, a belief that grave altars existed in very ancient times. The *Cheu li* has: »The Officer for the Graves acts as a substitute for the deceased at every sacrifice on the tombs" [1]. This passage indicates that during the Cheu dynasty such sacrifices were even an acknowledged institution of the State. Searching the *Li ki*, we find (chapter 27, l. 29) that Confucius, on being asked by Tseng-tszĕ in what wise the son of a concubine ought to present the sacrifices to his father when the eldest son by the principal wife was abroad, answered: »He shall erect an altar in front of the grave, and sacrifice there at each of the four seasons" [2].

Evidence of the existence of sacrifices of food upon the graves in the pre-Christian epoch is afforded also by the works of Mencius. There we read: »A man of Ts'i had a wife and a concubine living »with him in the same house. Whenever the good man went out, »he returned, satiated with spirits and meat, and when his wife »asked him with whom he had been eating and drinking, he »declared the people were all rich and honourable men. The wife »thereupon said to the concubine: 'I asked him with whom he is »always eating and drinking; they are all rich and honourable people, »and yet no man of distinction has ever made his appearance here: »— I will spy out where the good man goes'. Early the next morn- »ing she rose and secretly followed wherever the good man went. »Nobody stopped him on his way through the town to talk with him, »but at last he came to some people offering sacrifices among the »graves beyond the eastern wall of the city, of whom he begged »the leavings. Not being satisfied, he looked about and found an- »other party; and this was the way in which he satiated himself" [3].

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1 冢人凡祭墓爲尸. Ch. 21, l. 48.

2 望墓而爲壇以時祭. Sect. 曾子問, II.

3 齊人有一妻一妾而處室者。其良人出則必饜酒肉而後反、其妻問所與飲食者、則盡富貴

After having supplanted the ancient custom of placing provisions inside the grave, sacrifices upon the tomb have maintained themselves as an integral part of the Religion of the Dead down to the present day. The sacrifice which is offered at the time of interment has been described in its modern form on pages 225 *seq.*; those offered at regular periods after the burial for a series of years, nay, in many cases for ages, will be passed in review in our Second Book, which treats of the Soul and its Worship.

The propensity inherent to the whole Chinese nation of maintaining customs simply because they are ancient, has caused the victualing of the graves to remain an institution of the State for ages. It was strictly upheld as such at the imperial burials of the Han dynasty, as may be seen from some clauses quoted on page 402, and as late as the eighth century the following rescript was laid down in the Khai yuen Codex: »As for the carts sent to » the grave: when the sacrifice at the sending away of the dead » (see page 152) is finished, the assistants take the baskets of » Calamus rushes and fill seven of them with pieces cut from the » lower parts of the sacrificial victims. In the case of official persons » of the fourth or the fifth degree however, the number of » baskets is five; for those of the sixth degree and all those of » lower rank there are two baskets. The five kinds of cereals and » the uncooked rice are put in five hampers, each holding one » peck and three pints; covers of plain linen are spread out over » these. And the spirits are in jars of five pints each, covered » with linen of fine texture; the preserved meat is in two earthen » pots, each holding two pints and covered with plain linen" [1].

也。其妻告其妾曰、間其與飲食者盡富貴也、而未嘗有顯者來、吾將瞯良人之所之也。蚤起施從良人之所之。徧國中無與立談者、卒之東郭墦間之祭者、乞其餘。不足又顧而之他、此其爲饜足之道也. Sect. 離婁, II.

[1] 遣車、既遣奠掌事者以蒲葦苞牲體下節七苞。四品五品五苞、六品以下二苞。五穀米實以五筲、各斗三升、冪用疏布。酒實以壺、各五升、冪用功布、醢實於二甕、各二升、冪用疏布.

Amongst its rules for interment the same Codex carefully prescribes in which way all these things must be arranged around the coffin in the grave, and where the »eating dishes" [1], which are to be buried at the same time, must be placed.

It is prescribed also in Chu Hi's Rituals for Family Life that, »when the pit has been filled up halfway with earth, the articles »destined for the manes must be placed inside and covered with a »cloth, after which come the baskets, hampers and pots, which are »stowed away in a little room at the side, the opening to which »is subsequently closed with boards" [2]. A sacrifice *upon* the grave at the time of burial was prescribed by both the Khai yuen Codex and the Rituals of Chu Hi; they say namely that offerings must be arranged in front of the cart with the soul tablet, when this has arrived on the spot. Among the official regulations laid down in the Collective Statutes of the Great House of Ming for the funerals of deceased servants of the State, there was one to this effect that uncooked rice, spirits, dried meat, preserved meat and pickled meat should be placed in the pit, together with eating implements; but for the common people the work prescribed nothing of the kind.

The dynasty which now bears sway in China has abolished the burial of victuals as an official rite, at least the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* does not give any precepts on this head. This work orders, however, that at burials of members of the Imperial family offerings and libations shall, with the accompaniment of the wailing voices of all those attending, be made upon the tomb by the principal mourner, while at those of the nobility, the official classes and the common people such sacrifices shall be set out on the spot in front of the soul tablet. The actual state of matters seems to be in conformity with these precepts, for we have never seen or heard anything of a still prevailing custom of placing food in the graves, while, on the other hand, offerings upon the tombs, both at the burial and afterwards, are very general.

It has been shown by some of the extracts quoted in this chapter that the sacrifices offered upon the graves gave rise to grave

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[1] 食盤.

[2] 實土及半乃藏明器、下帳、苞笥甕於便房、以板塞其門.

altars already at an early date. Temples being in fact only altars constructed on an enlarged and improved scale, we need not wonder that such buildings were erected on imperial tombs in pre-Christian times. »Anciently", thus we read, »there was no sacrificing on »the tombs, but during the dynasty of Han a park with a »temple was added as an appendage to each of the imperial »mausolea, in imitation of the House of Ts'in" [1]. Elsewhere we read: »In ancient times there was no sacrificing on the tombs, but »Shi Hwang of the House of Ts'in erected a temple at the side »of his tomb, and this was imitated by the Han dynasty and »has not since been abolished" [2]. It may be asked, however, whether it is not somewhat improbable that such buildings should have come into vogue so suddenly, and whether it would not be more natural to consider them as products of a gradual development of the altars which were erected on the graves in far earlier times. The truth may be that Shi Hwang, having subjected the whole Empire and thus covered himself with an aureole of fame hitherto unparalleled, was the first to have a temple erected on his grave ground in a style so grand as to attract the attention of historians; at any rate it is certain he bestowed more labour upon his mausoleum than ever any Chinese monarch had done before. More particulars on this head will be found on pages 399 *seq.*

Sacrificial temples erected on graves of grandees are oftentimes cursorily mentioned in the literature of subsequent ages. The General Memoirs of Shantung Province [3] say that a temple stood on the grave of Tseng-tszĕ, the principal disciple of Confucius, and that long before A. D. 1037 there was one on the tomb of Mencius also. It seems to have always been customary with the emperors, in the case of deserving statesmen to allow the costs connected with the erection of such buildings, and also those of the grave itself, to be defrayed either partly or wholly by the official treasury. For it is stated in the Collective Statutes of the Great House of Ming that the first sovereign of this dynasty »in the 26th. year

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[1] 古不墓祭、漢諸陵皆有園寢、承秦所爲也. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 19, l. 6.

[2] 古不墓祭、秦始皇起寢於墓側、漢因而不改: »Rules of the Han Dynasty for Official Dignitaries" 漢官儀, *ap.* Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 2, l. 4.

[3] 山東通志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 134.

» of the Hung wu period (A. D. 1393) issued an edict, stating » that from that moment no more sacrificial halls might be built » at the decease of officials of merit; that the burial ground and » the requisites of the obsequies should be entirely provided by » themselves, and that the outlay was to be defrayed by the » government only in case the individual in question had perished » on the field of battle" [1].

The dynasty now seated on the throne of the Empire allows the erection of grave temples exclusively for certain members of the Imperial family. This will be set forth in our Fifth Chapter, which, together with the Fourteenth, contains also some particulars about such buildings.

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[1] 洪武二十六年詔、自今凡功臣故不建享堂、其墳塋葬具皆令自備、惟歿於戰陳者官給. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, ch. 133.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACING VALUABLES, REQUISITES OF LIFE, ANIMALS ETC. IN THE GRAVE.

If the soul really inhabits the grave, will it not then want other things besides food and drink? Uncivilized man naturally answered this question in the affirmative. The Chinese of antiquity satisfied the imaginary wants of their dead with a lavish hand, and few things afford stronger proof of the veneration in which they held them than the treasures and valuables, which they have buried in their tombs until comparatively recent times.

Considering that by far the most savage tribes, in whatever part of the globe they are living, are in the habit of deposing in the graves articles of daily use, and that the same custom widely prevailed among the Chinese in ancient historical times, it can scarcely be doubted that the articles buried with the dead by the prehistoric Chinese must have been exceedingly numerous. And after having had a mighty hold upon the people for a long series of ages, the custom, though it waned away in process of time, had retained a character for sacredness even in the Confucian epoch. It is recorded in the *Li ki* (ch. 9, l. 18) that a disciple of this sage, »Tszĕ-szĕ, said: 'When on the third day after the decease »the body is coffined, then be sure to act sincerely and honestly »with regard to whatever is deposited near the corpse, lest you »should repent! And be sure to be sincere and honest also with »regard to the placing of articles by the coffin at the interment »in the third month, lest you should repent!'" [1]. This menace shows that it was a prevailing conviction in those times that evil might easily overtake those who fell short in richly equipping the dead in their tomb; and doubtless such evil was regarded as being inflicted by the revengeful soul itself.

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[1] 子思曰、喪三日而殯凡附於身者必誠必信、勿之有悔焉耳矣。三月而葬凡附於棺者必誠必信、勿之有悔焉耳矣. Sect. 檀弓, I, 1.

Among the articles the placing of which in the tomb had become an established rite during the Cheu dynasty, silken stuffs, such as were probably used in making clothes, first claim our attention. Already on pages 168 *seq.* it has been shown by quotations from the *I li* that it was then customary for princes and dignitaries to present such articles to deceased servants of the state, that friends gave them to their friends, and acquaintances to their acquaintances. Silks were even offered to the dead while the funeral procession was on its way to the burial ground, the *I li* stating in its description of the rules to be observed at the obsequies of ordinary officers and their principal kinsmen: » Arriving at the » gate of the city, a steward deputed by the Ruler presents a » parcel of black and scarlet silk to the deceased. The principal » mourner, laying his mourning staff aside and putting a stop to his » wailing, remains on the left side of the coffin while listening to the » message, and after the bearer has delivered this from the right » side, wails and bows, knocking his forehead against the ground. » The messenger then ascends the bier to place the silk underneath » the catafalque. This done, he descends; the principal mourner » bowingly sees him off, returns to his place in the procession » and takes his staff in his hand, the escort of death thereupon » continuing its way. The coffin having been let down into the » grave, the gifts that have been bestowed upon the dead are » presented, *viz.*, parcels of black and scarlet silk in pieces eighteen » feet long; and having made some bows, the principal mourner » knocks his head against the ground and stamps his feet as » before" [1].

The custom of burying silks with the dead is mentioned also a couple of times in the *Li ki.* In its 54th chapter (l. 27) this book has: » Among the people of the state of Lu the gifts consisted of » three pieces of black silk and two pieces of red, each piece » being one foot broad and as long as a piece of full length" [2].

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[1] 至于邦門、公使宰夫贈玄纁束。主人去杖不哭、由左聽命、賓由右致命、主人哭、拜稽顙。賓升實幣于蓋。降、主人拜送、復位、杖、乃行。乃窆、贈用制幣玄纁束、拜稽顙、踊如初. Ch. 30, l. 34—38.

[2] 魯人之贈也三玄二纁、廣尺、長終幅. Sect. 雜記, I, 2.

And in chapter 12 (l. 34) we read: »After the coffin has been let down into the grave, the principal mourner offers the gifts" [1].

On pages 34 *seq.* and 340 *seq.* has been described how in ancient times zealous superiors, relations and friends used to contribute large numbers of grave garments to notable persons. As already suggested on page 341, it seems not improbable that those garments, inasmuch as they could not be used for dressing the corpse, were placed in the grave, or that at least it was so in the earliest ages. During the Cheu dynasty, burying clothes with the dead did not occupy, however, a place amongst the prescribed rites, if we are allowed to draw this conclusion from the fact that nowhere in the Three Rituals do we find any clear reference to it. Nevertheless the matter was then by no means obsolete, for, an extract from the *Si-king tsah ki*, given on page 398, says that during the reign of the House of Han decayed remains of a large number of clothes were discovered in the tomb of a feudal prince of the third century before our era. During the Han dynasty burying clothes and sacrificial garments was an established rite connected with imperial obsequies, as will be shown on page 403.

Besides clothes, or material to make clothes of, articles of all kinds and descriptions were in the pre-Christian epoch buried with the dead. For people of rank, the side curtains of the catafalque which had served to convey the corpse to the tomb were placed inside the grave, as also the boards exhibiting the rank of the deceased; this may be seen in an extract from the *Li ki*, quoted on page 282. This custom was still maintained as late as the T'ang dynasty, the Codex of the Khai yuen period prescribing its observance for officials of the three highest classes, while those of the fourth class and of lower rank were to have the boards only placed inside the grave.

During the Cheu dynasty, at burials of royal personages the musical instruments which had been played by the court-musicians during the interment, went the same way, as appears by three quotations from the *Cheu li* cited on page 159. Even the shields, plumes and flutes which had done service at the dances executed during the funeral were buried, as it is stated in the *Cheu li* »that the Officers of the Shields at Great Funerals arrange »the implements used at the execution of dances, and at the

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[1] 既封、主人贈. Sect. 檀弓, II, 1.

» interment take them up, to store them away in the grave" [1].

Objects of every kind which were believed to be useful to the dead and which were placed in the grave with them, are very often denoted in the Three Rituals as » implements or utensils of death" 凶器, or » implements for the manes" 明器. These terms may include also dishes and bowls, such articles being likewise denoted in Chinese by the character 器. In the *Cheu li* we read that » the Officer for the Graves, after the coffin has been » placed in the grave, enters, in order to store away therein the » implements of death" [2]. And in its 46th. chapter (l. 41) the *Li ki* says: » As to the course of conduct to be followed with » regard to the articles for the manes — even though a large » number of these be exposed, it is allowed to place a small num- » ber in the grave; and it is permitted also to bury them all with » the dead when only a small quantity are displayed" [3]. Ching Khang-ch'ing and Khung Ying-tah both think that this passage refers to a custom, then prevalent among friends and relatives, of contributing articles for the tomb, and that many of these were only presented and exhibited for the sake of show [4]. If they are right, then this custom may be ranked side by side with that of presenting grave clothes, these being likewise displayed during the preparation of the dead for the grave (see pages 334 *seq.*, 337, 340 *sqq.*) and buried along with him.

Such exhibitions of articles for the grave took place first at home, before the deceased was carried away for burial, and afterwards once more, near the burial ground. This appears by the following extract from the *I li*, which is also interesting as showing what sort of things used to be buried with ordinary officers. » The » implements for the manes are exhibited on the west side of the » driving cars [5]. They consist of objects of use, to wit, bows and » arrows, ploughshares, a couple of vases, a couple of bathing » tubs, and a washbasin in which a ewer is placed; this ewer is

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1 司干大喪廞舞器、及葬奉而藏之. Ch. 23, l. 58.

2 冢人及穸遂入藏凶器. Ch. 21, l. 47.

3 陳器之道、多陳之而省納之可也、省陳之而盡納之可也. Sect. 喪服小記, II.

4 See the Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, *loc. cit.*

5 陳明器于乘車之西. Ch. 29, l. 29.

» placed in such a way that its spout is on the south side. Sacrificial » utensils there are none, but there may be instruments of music, » such as are used when celebrating festive meals. Of instruments » of war there are coats of mail, helmets, shields and quivers; » and as to articles for use when at leisure, there are staffs, » parasols of bamboo, and fans [1]. Arrived at the burial pit, the » implements are arranged on the east side of the road, the » principal being placed on the north-west side.... The coffin is » let down into the grave .... the utensils are stored up at the » side of it, and then the screens and the roof of the catafalque » are placed over them, the baskets with sacrificial meat and the » hampers being stored away at the side" [2].

Elsewhere in the *I li* particulars are given concerning these bows and arrows and their appurtenances. » They are new, but of » a coarse construction, tipped at both ends and ornamented. They » may also be flexible. There are furthermore pieces of bamboo to » tie on the inside of bows when unstrung, lest they should lose » their good qualities. On the spot are laid out pieces of leather » to wrap around the strings, and pieces for the centre of the bows, » through which the arrows, when shot off, may slip away. Further » there are quivers to keep the bows in. There is one set of four » waiting arrows [3]; they have heads of bone and short feathers. Also » one set of four training arrows, the centre of gravity of which lies » in the middle and which have likewise short feathers" [4].

Note that arrows with heads of bone were buried with the dead even in times when the use of iron was common. This introduces us to the survival of a custom of pre-historic ages, maintaining itself by religious conservatism, and which may be classed among

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[1] 用器、弓矢、耒耜、兩敦、兩杅、槃匜、匜實于槃中、南流。無祭器、有燕樂器可也。役器、甲、冑、干、笮、燕器、杖、笠、翣. Ch. 29, l. 35—37.

[2] 至于壙、陳器于道東、西北上...乃窆...藏器於旁、加見、藏苞筲於旁. Ch. 30, l. 36—40.

3 So called because they were used when lying in wait to surprise an enemy, or an animal.

[4] 弓矢之新、沽功、有弭飾焉。亦張可也。有柲。設依撻焉。有韣。翭侯矢一乘、骨鏃短衛。志矢一乘、軒輖中、亦短衛. Ch. 31, l. 53—55.

instances of similar survivals given on pages 287 and 397. Ching Khang-ch'ing says: »That these arrows had heads of bone and »short feathers shows that they were unfit for use, since the »arrows in use among the living were well-feathered and had heads »of metal" [1].

The sovereigns of the house of Cheu had also horses interred with them. »At Great funerals", the *Cheu li* says, »the Great »Marshal presents horses as victims at the funeral sacrifice, an- »nouncing this to the deceased" [2]. »These horses were led to »the grave and stored away therein, while an announcement »thereof was made to the dead" [3], adds Ching Khang-ch'ing. This assertion seems to be based upon another passage in the *Cheu li*, to this effect: »At Great funerals, the Officer for the Horse-pens »decorates the horses of the carriages which are sent to the tomb, »and buries them at the interment" [4]. It does not appear from these passages whether such horses were buried alive or whether they were first immolated.

Jade stone, so valuable to the ancient Chinese, was likewise interred with their sovereigns and feudal lords. The *Cheu li* says: »At Great funerals, the First Minister of State is to assist when »jade is bestowed upon the defunct and when jade is placed in his »mouth [5]. And the Manager of the Signets of Jade provides, at »Great funerals, the bruised jade which is to be mixed up with the »rice for the mouth of the dead; further he provides the pieces »of jade for the mouth, and the jade which is to be presented to »the deceased in the grave" [6]. From our dissertation on the placing of precious objects in the mouth of the dead (p. 269 *sqq.*) the reader is aware that, in ancient times, jade used to be placed both upon and inside corpses because of a prevailing conviction that the precious stone could prevent corruption and facilitate revival. No doubt this conviction also prompted the placing of

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1 骨鏃短衛亦示不用也、生時矰矢金鏃. Khienlung edition of the *I li*, ch. 31, l. 55.

2 大司馬大喪喪祭奉詔馬牲. Ch. 29, l. 46.

3 送之至墓、告而藏之.

4 校人大喪飾遣車之馬、及葬埋之. Ch. 32, l. 50.

5 大宰大喪贊贈玉、含玉. Ch. 2, l. 60.

6 典瑞大喪共飯玉、含玉、贈玉. Ch. 20, l. 46.

ornaments of jade in the grave outside the coffin. Similar ideas having, as shown in the same dissertation, obtained in regard of pearls, gold and cowries, we may well suppose that during the Cheu dynasty and subsequent Royal houses these and similar valuables played an important part in the equipment of the dead. Thao Hung-king in the fifth or sixth century declared explicitly that »it was an established rule with the Han dynasty to bury »every Imperial prince with clothes adorned with pearls and with »boxes of jade, in order to prevent putrefaction" [1].

Turning over the leaves of the *Yueh tsueh shu*, we find the following notice about the mausoleum of Hoh Lu, the monarch mentioned on pages 290 and 379, who wielded the sceptre over the kingdom of Wu between the dates 514 and 496 before our era. »The »mausoleum of Hoh Lu is situated outside the Ch'ang gate. »It was called the Tiger's Hill. The lower tank was sixty pu »broad and fifteen feet deep. The copper grave vault was composed »of three layers. Near the tumulus there was a tank six feet deep, »and also a brook, called the Jade Mallards' stream. The grave »contained three thousand swords of the p'ien-chu kind, three »thousand square and round objects, and also shi-hao swords »and yü-ch'ang sabres. Thousands and tens of thousands of »people were employed in building this monument [2]. The earth »required for it was obtained from the lakes. On the third day »after it was finished a white tiger settled on the summit, and »therefore it was called the Tiger's Hill" [3].

Though this extract is not to be accepted as gospel truth in every respect, because the historical value of many pages of the *Yueh tsueh shu* is detracted from by romantic anecdotes, yet we have no reason to refuse credence to the cardinal points contained

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1 漢制王公皆用珠襦玉匣、是使不朽故也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 8.

2 Another version of this extract inserted in ch. 31 of the *Shi ki* (l. 15) gives: 卒十餘萬人, »over a hundred thousand serfs".

3 闔廬冢在閶門外。名虎邱。下池廣六十步、水深丈五尺。銅槨三重。墳池六尺、玉鳧之流。扁諸之劍三千、方圓之口三千、時耗魚腸之劍在焉。千萬人築治之。取土臨湖口。築三日而白虎居上、故號虎邱. Chapter 2.

in it. Another work of a similar character, the Miscellanies about the Western Metropolis, relates, as stated on page 289, how a prince of Kwang-ch'wen had, during the Han dynasty, several ancient tombs broken up and what was discovered therein, giving the following particulars about the mausolea of king Siang and his son Ngai, who ruled the state of Wei, which comprised the southern part of the present province of Shensi and the north of Honan, between the dates 334 and 286 before our era:

» In the grave of king Siang of Wei the vault was entirely of » veined stone and over eight feet high. There was room enough » in it to hold forty people. To the hand it felt smooth and chilly, » as if it were new. Inside there was a couch of stone and a » screen of the same material, elegantly finished on all sides; but » there was no trace of a coffin, nor of implements for the use of » the manes. On the couch stood nothing but a spittoon of jade, » with two swords of copper [1] and sundry instruments of gold and » jade, all as good as new. The prince took these for his own » private use" [2].

» Over the tumulus of king Ngai molten iron had been poured, » and it was not opened until after three days had been spent in » boring and chiselling. A yellowish mist inside so disagreeably » affected the nose and eyes as to render it impossible to enter. » Therefore the grave was left to the care of a guard of soldiers, » and after seven days the mist had cleared away. Then first a door » which had neither rings nor bolts was found, and subsequently » a couch of granite, four feet square. On this couch stood a stool » of stone, on both the right and the left side of which there were » in attendance three stone images in a standing attitude, all » wearing military caps, girdles and swords. Then came a second » stone door of one leaf only, well provided with bars and bolts. » Having broken it open, the eye fell upon a coffin, the black » colour of which was so bright that it cast a glare over the men. » Sword-strokes had no effect upon it; but when they attacked it

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1 Do these archaic swords suggest survivals of a bronze period preceding the iron?

2 魏襄王冢皆以文石爲槨、高八尺許。廣狹容四十人。以手捫槨滑液如新。中有石牀石屏風、婉然周正、不見棺柩明器蹤跡。但牀上有玉唾壺一枚、銅劍二枚、金玉雜具、皆如新物。王取服之. *Si-king tsah ki*, chapter 6.

» with heated saws, they found it to consist of sundry varnished » rhinoceros hides; it was several inches thick, and the hides were » placed over one another in more than ten layers. Their exertions » to break it open proving fruitless, they desisted from all further » attempts.

» Again they passed through a stone door of one leaf, pro- » tected by bolts and bars. A couch of stone was then discovered, » seven feet square; also a stone screen, and a set of copper » curtain-hooks, some of which lay scattered about in disorder on » the couch and on the floor; obviously the ribbons, by means of » which these curtains had been fastened, had decayed, and the » copper hooks dropped out in consequence. On the couch there » was one stone pillow and, moreover, dust in very high convex » heaps, evidently the remains of clothes and ceremonial garments. » And on the right and left, stone figures of women, twenty » on each side, were standing near the couch in attendance, some » holding imitations of towels and combs [1], mirrors and hairpins in » their hands, others dishes, as if they were serving up a meal. No » other curious things were detected, except iron mirrors, several » hundreds in number" [2].

This discovery of clothes crumbled to dust in consequence of

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1 Still now-a-days a concubine is called in literary style »a towel and comb in attendance" 侍巾櫛.

2 哀王冢以鐵灌其上、穿鑿三日乃開。有黄氣如霧觸人鼻目皆辛苦、不可入。以兵守之、七日乃歇。初至一戶、無扃鑰、石牀方四尺。牀上有石几、左右各三石人立侍、皆武冠帶劍。復入一戶石扉、有關鑰。叩開見棺柩、黑光照人。刀斫不入、燒鋸截之、乃漆雜兕革爲棺、厚數寸、累積十餘重。力不能開、乃止。

復入一戶、亦石扉關鑰。得石牀方七尺、石屏風、銅帳鐎一具、或在牀上、或在地下、似是帳縣朽而銅鐎墮落。牀上石枕一枚、塵埃朏朏甚高、似是衣服。牀左右石婦人各二十悉皆立侍、或有執巾櫛鏡鑷之象、或有執盤捧食之形。無餘異物、但有鐵鏡數百枚. Chapter 6.

their having passed so many ages under the ground, confirms our supposition expressed on page 342, that the clothes which used to be presented in such large quantities by superiors, family members and friends at the death of persons of note during the Cheu dynasty, were sent to the tomb along with the defunct. But what are we to think of those hundreds of mirrors placed in the graves? Considering that uncivilized or semi-civilized man has no rational notions about the reflection of light, and easily confounds this with light itself, there scarcely remains a doubt that the ancient Chinese placed such smooth objects in the tombs under the supposition that, as in an apartment dimly lighted they would produce light, so here they would enable the soul to distinguish the images, treasures and implements stored up in the crypt. All really luminiferous matter, experience told them, can give light for a short time only; mirrors, however, can do so for ages. To this day, a »mirror to light the corpse" is in Fuhkien province placed in the coffin with the dead (see page 93): a weak survival, indeed, of an ancient usage widely prevalent, which will be illustrated by other instances in the present chapter. The *Kwei sin tsah shih* [1], a collection of miscellanies written by Cheu Mih [2] in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, says: »The present generation when coffining a body suspend a »mirror against the lid of the coffin to shed light upon the corpse, »and now and then they aver that the object of this is to break »the darkness by means of light" [3].

That in former ages of the Chinese Empire the great of this earth did not neglect to do whatever was within the limits of human power to light up the cave of death, is proved by the interesting account which the Historical Records give of the mausoleum and the obsequies of the martial Shi Hwang, the famous monarch of the dynasty of Ts'in, already mentioned on page 290. »In the »ninth month they buried Shi Hwang in mount Li. Not long »after his accession to the throne this monarch had that moun- »tain excavated and prepared, and when he had reduced the whole »Empire to subjection, people were transferred from all parts of it

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[1] 癸辛雜識. [2] 周密.

[3] 今世有大斂而用鏡懸之棺蓋以照尸者、往往謂取光明破暗之義. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, chapter 103.

» to this spot, and to the number of over seven hundred thousand » excavated the ground underneath three wells of groundwater. » Of copper they then made a crypt [1], and all the rare articles » and precious curiosities of the palaces and the sundry offices » were conveyed thither, and hoarded up inside till the crypt was » full. Mechanicians were then ordered to make balistic machines » which, whenever any one ventured too near the spot, would » suddenly discharge arrows. Of water limpid like silver [2] they made » numerous brooks converging into a river and a great lake, and » machines revolved in them, throwing out the water from one » to the other. Above they arrayed the stars and asterisms, and » below, the configurations of the earth; they made torches of the » fat of the man's fish, which were calculated to burn for a long » time. 'Rh-shi (Shi Hwang's son and successor) commanded: 'It shall » not be allowed to such of the inmates of the late Emperor's sera- » glio as have no sons, to leave the gates of the mausoleum', and » they were all made to follow him in death. Those destroyed in » this wise were very numerous.

» When the coffin had been deposed in the grave, some one » suggested that, whereas the workmen and mechanicians who had » made the machines and concealed the valuables knew all about » the same, the buried treasures might forthwith be scattered in all » directions. So, when the great ceremony (*i. e.* the burial) was » finished and the valuables had been stored away, the interior » gate of the road leading to the tomb was closed, and the » lower and exterior gates of that road were both shut too, so » that none of the workmen, artisans or men who had been

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1 According to Sü Kwang 徐廣, a famous scholar who lived A. D. 352—425, the character 銅, »copper", occurring in the Chinese text, might stand for 錮, »to stop up by means of molten metal". The above sentence would in this case run: »They dug up three wells of groundwater, stopped these up by means of molten metal, and constructed a grave-vault". Compare page 290.

2 The text has 水銀, lit. »water-silver", a term which appears in literature generally in the sense of mercury. But it is hard to believe that Szĕ-ma Ts'ien, the compiler of the Records, can have meant this metal, it being doubtful whether it was known in his time. Mr. Kingsmill, touching upon Shi Hwang's burial in the China Review (V, p. 360) did not venture upon a translation of the extract in its entirety, and the editor of that periodical, trying to rectify his renderings in a note, translated the above passage by: »quicksilver poured into She Hwang's coffin like a hundred streams of rivers, or rather a great ocean". I wonder whether any other Sinologist would be able to distil such nonsense out of the text.

» employed in storing away the treasures ever came out again. Trees » and shrubs were planted about the spot, to give it the appearance » of a natural mountain" [1].

The Han dynasty scarcely fell short of the house of Ts'in in richly equipping deceased monarchs. About the articles of jade committed to their graves, chiefly with the object of counteracting the putrefaction of the corpse, something has been already said on page 274. The *Si-king tsah ki* says on this head: »The sovereigns » of the Han dynasty were in the habit of sending their dead into » the tomb with robes adorned with pearls, and with boxes of » jade stone. These boxes looked like coats of mail, chains being » carved out upon them and inlaid with gold. The boxes used in » the case of the Emperor Wu (140—87 B. C.) were all inlaid » on the lid with figures of dragons, phenixes and tortoise-dragons. » Hence they were called at that time 'dragon-boxes of jade'" [2].

In the Books of the Later Han Dynasty we find it prescribed that at imperial burials, when the procession, headed by the Rescuer of the Country (page 162), with standards and banners, and escorted by the highest officers in mourning dress, arrived at the Mausoleum and arrayed itself there on the east side of the road leading to the grave hill, the new Son of Heaven had to retire into a tent of plain white linen, divested of all ornamentation. »The Great Invoker", thus the official rescripts in those times

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[1] 九月葬始皇酈山。始皇初卽位穿治酈山、及并天下、天下徒送詣、七十餘萬人穿三泉下。銅而致椁、宮觀百官奇器珍怪徙臧滿之。令匠作機弩矢、有所穿近者輒射之。以水銀爲百川江河大海、機相灌輸。上具天文、下具地理、以人魚膏爲燭、度不滅者久之。二世曰、先帝後宮非有子者出焉不宜、皆令從死。死者甚衆。

葬旣已下或言、工匠爲機藏皆知之、藏重卽泄。大事畢已藏、閉中羨、下外羨門盡閉、工匠藏者無復出者。樹草木以象山. *Shi ki*, ch. 6, l. 29 *seq.*

[2] 漢帝送死皆珠襦玉匣。匣形如鎧甲、連以金鏤。武帝匣上皆鏤爲蛟龍鸞鳳龜龍之象、世謂爲蛟龍玉匣. Chapter I.

ran, » shall then bring forward the must, and offer it to the » defunct with observance of the customary ritual. The Minister of » the Revenues, falling upon his knees, then says: 'Great funeral » cart, stand still, if you please', and the Great Annalist, stand- » ing on the south side of the bier, reads, with his face to the » north, the mourning-address, during which those in charge of » the obsequies keep behind him. The recital finished, he wails. The » Grandmaster of the Sacrifices kneels down, exclaiming: 'Wail!', » and the Minister for the State Ceremonial having repeated this » order, it is obeyed (by everybody present) with the observance » of the customary ritual. Then kneeling down again, the Mi- » nister of the Revenues says: 'I request you to repair to the lower » place', which is a sign for the military officials of the Eastern » Park to take the coffin down and place it on the bier. Now the » same Minister says, in a kneeling attitude: 'I request you to » descend into the crypt', and every one escorts the military officials » with the bier into the crypt, the Minister of the Revenues and » the Great Annalist carrying respectively the panegyric and the » mourning address [1].

» The retainers of the military officials of the Eastern Park now » put down the implements for the manes. These are: eight ham- » pers, full, holding three pints each; they contain respectively millet, » panicled millet, wheat, spiked millet, rice, hemp seed, pulse, » and small pease. Three earthen pots of three pints, holding » respectively pickled meat, preserved meat, and sliced food. Cakes » of millet. All these things are placed upon wooden trays and » covered with coarse linen. Two earthen liquor jars of three pints, » filled with must and spirits, which are placed likewise upon » wooden trays and covered with linen of fine texture [2].

» One candlestick of earthenware.

» Four red arrows, having their centre of gravity in the middle » and with short feathers. Four red arrows of bone, with short » feathers. One red bow [3].

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1 The commentary says that during the period of the House of Tsin such a document having been extracted from the grave of Ming, an emperor of the Han dynasty who reigned between A. D. 58 and 75, it proved to be of bamboo engraved with characters.

2 Compare this enumeration with that of the food and drink stored up in the graves of notables in still earlier times (Pages 382 *seq.*).

3 See the particulars supplied by the *I li* about the bows and arrows placed in the graves of officers during the Cheu dynasty (page 394).

» Eight goblets, eight tureens, eight pots, eight square baskets, » eight wine jars, one wash basin with a ewer.

» One staff, one stool, and one canopy.

» Sixteen bells, four large bells, and sixteen sonorous stones, » all without stands to suspend them from. One occarino, four » flutes, one reed organ, one flute with seven holes, one clapper » to start the orchestra and one signal-giver to stop it, six lutes, » one cithern, one mouth organ, one harp, one lute with holes.

» One shield and one lance, one quiver, one coat of mail, and » one helmet.

» Nine carriages, and thirty-six straw images of men and horses.

» Two cooking stoves, two kettles, one rice steamer, and twelve » caldrons of five pints — everything of earthenware. One laddle » made of a gourd and holding one pint.

» Nine tables of earthenware, sixteen large cups of three pints » and twenty smaller ones of two pints — all of earthenware. Ten » rice dishes of earthenware, two winepots of earthenware holding » five pints, and two gourd spoons of one pint.

» Sacrificial garments and clothes [1].

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[1] 太祝進醴、獻如禮。司徒跪曰、大駕請舍、太史令自車南北面讀哀策、掌故在後。已哀哭。太常跪曰、哭、大鴻臚傳哭如儀。司徒跪曰、請就下位、東園武士奉下車。司徒跪曰、請就下房、都導東園武士奉車入房、司徒太史令奉謚哀策。

東園武士執事下明哭。笥八、盛容三升、黍一、稷一、麥一、粱一、稻一、麻一、菽一、小豆一。甕三、容三升、醯一、醢一、屑一。黍飴。載以木桁、覆以疏布。甒二、容三升、醴一、酒一、載以木桁、覆以功布○瓦鐙一○彤矢四、軒輖中、亦短衛。彤矢四、骨短衛。彤弓一○卮八、牟八、豆八、籩八形方、酒壺八、槃匜一具○杖几各一、蓋一○鍾十六、無虡、鎛四、無虡、磬十六、無虡。壎一、簫四、笙一、篪一、柷一、敔一、瑟六、琴一、竽一、筑一、坎侯一○干戈各一、笮一、甲一、冑一○輓車九乘、芻靈三十六匹○瓦竈二、瓦釜二、瓦

» All these articles having been given to the defunct, the work-
» men of the Eastern Park declare that it is allowed to howl, upon
» which all those present in the crypt pour forth their lamenta-
» tions, until the Grandmaster of the Sacrifices and the Minister
» for the State Ceremonial request them with observance of the
» customary ceremonial to stop. Then the Minister of the Revenues
» says: 'The duties of all the officers are now fulfilled; so I request
» you to perform nothing more and to follow me', which is a sign
» for all those who are in the crypt to make bows and to repair
» to their assigned places outside the crypt.

» Now the Grandmaster of the Sacrifices leads the Emperor
» towards the place where he is to offer the presents to the de-
» funct. The Minister of the Revenues throws himself upon his
» knees and says: 'I request that the presents be brought forward'.
» Upon this, a Chamberlain brings the sceptre of jade, which is to
» be presented in the profound cave; this object has a length of one
» foot four inches and is presented along with a piece of red cloth
» which is three inches square and hemmed on all sides with scarlet
» silk with a red lining. (The same official brings also) the silk which
» is to be presented to the deceased, to wit, three black pieces
» and two scarlet pieces, each one foot two inches long and having
» the breadth of a full piece. The Emperor stepping forward, kneels
» down, then repairs to the door of the crypt which opens on the
» road that leads to the grave hill, and turning his face to the west,
» with his own hands drops the presents into the profound cave
» in three separate portions; the workmen of the Eastern Park
» pick them up, take them inside the crypt, and store them away.
» Subsequently the Grandmaster of the Sacrifices in a kneeling posi-
» tion requests the Emperor to make reverent prostrations, and
» orders those present to howl, which order is re-echoed by the
» Minister for the State Ceremonial in accordance with the estab-
» lished ritual; and in the end, the Grandmaster of the Sacrifices
» having said kneelingly: 'The presentation of articles is completed',
» the Emperor immediately returns to his place .... The Emperor,

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甑一、瓦鼎十二、容五升。匏勺一、容一升○瓦案九、瓦大杯十六、容三升、瓦小杯二十、容二升。瓦饭槃十、瓦酒樽二、容五斗、匏勺二、容一升○祭服衣。

» the Empress, and all those of lower rank put off their coarse » garments and dress themselves in a bright red attire, after which » they return to the Palace" [1].

In the same chapter of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty a note is inserted of the following contents:

» The Old Ritual of the House of Han [2], describing the mausolea » of the emperors of the Early Han dynasty, says: 'In the year » next following the accession to the Throne, the Great Architect, » Chief Overseer of the Works, measured out the ground for the » imperial mausoleum. Seven khiung of ground were assigned » for it. The central square had a surface of one khiung and » was thirteen chang of ten feet deep; the hall with the sacrificial » altar was thirty, and the grave hill one hundred and twenty » feet high; but the mound of the Emperor Wu measured two » hundred feet. The interior part for the manes (the crypt) was » seventeen feet high and twenty feet square; it contained the » coffin of Rottlera wood, and around this a pile of the yellow » intestines of cypress trees (see page 301). The valuables acquired » from the sundry offices having been stored up in it, the articles » arranged at the four gates of the roads leading to the grave » hill, and also the state-carriages with six horses stationed in » those gates were placed in the tomb altogether.

» The attendants thereupon ranging themselves beyond the paved

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[1] 送皆畢、東園匠曰可哭、在房中者皆哭、太常大鴻臚請哭止如儀。司徒曰、百官事畢、臣請罷從、入房者皆再拜出、就位。

太常導皇帝就贈位。司徒跪曰、請進贈。侍中奉持鴻洞贈玉珪、長尺四寸、薦以紫巾廣袤各三寸、緹裏赤繶周緣。贈幣、玄三纁二、各長尺二寸、廣充幅。皇帝進跪、臨羨道房戶、西向、手下贈投鴻洞中三、東園匠奉封入藏房中。太常跪曰皇帝敬再拜、請哭、大鴻臚傳哭如儀、太常跪曰、贈事畢、皇帝促就位。。。皇帝皇后以下皆去麤服、服大紅、還宮. Chapt. 16, l. 5 *sqq.*

2 This work in four chapters, mentioned already on page 266, is believed to have been written by one Wei King-chung 衞敬仲, who probably lived during the Liang dynasty.

» carriage-road outside the interior square, the sword-door was » closed first. Yé-lung sabres, muh-sjé swords and hidden » balistic machines were contrived upon it, as also secret fire. » After this, the remaining ground of the mausoleum was converted » into a western park; on the mausoleum of an empress it was » used for the construction of abodes for lady-chieftains of the » seraglio and ladies of lower rank, these abodes being assigned as » a mark of favour to (female) dignitaries of merit among her » kinsfolk and relatives [1].

» And the Imperial Mirror [2] says:

» As for the burial places of the House of Han, their central » squares were of a size of one hundred pu. After the square » had been dug out and a square rampart raised around it, » four gates were constructed therein (one in the middle of each » front) and four roads made, broad enough to allow six horses to » pass abreast. Afterwards various articles were deposited on the » spot: weapons, lackerware, heavy silks and light silks, gold, valu- » ables, rice, and corn. They also buried carriages, horses, tigers, » leopards, and other quadrupeds. Warriors and serfs were levied » from the neighbouring districts, and of these guardians a special » Commander-in-chief was appointed; moreover, the highest ladies » of the back palace and those who had stood most in favour » with the monarch, all settled there as warders of the park and » the grave hill. At the obsequies of the Emperor Yuen, neither » carriages nor horses, nor animals, nor any such kind of things were

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[1] 漢舊儀略載前漢諸帝壽陵曰、天子卽位明年將作大匠營陵地。用地七頃。方中用地一頃、深十三丈、堂壇高三丈、墳高十二丈、武帝墳高二十丈。明中高一丈七尺、四周二丈、內梓棺柏黃腸題湊以次。百官藏畢、其設四通羨門容大車六馬皆藏之。

內方外陟車石外方立、先閉劍戶。戶設夜龍莫邪劍伏弩、設伏火。已營陵餘地爲西園、后陵餘地爲婕妤以下次、賜親屬功臣. Chapt. 16, l. 4.

2 A voluminous work of this name, containing 120 chapters, existed in the time of the Sui dynasty. It was then supposed to have been written by one Miao Poh 繆卜 and some collaborators. Other works bearing the same title existed prior to the Sui dynasty. See Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 34, l. 9.

» used for the tomb" [1]. This last assertion seems to rest upon the authority of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, which say: »In the first year of the period King ning (33 B. C.), in the fifth » month, the Emperor Yuen breathed his last. In the sixth month » it was officially demonstrated that the use of carriages and carts, » oxen, horses and animals was entirely inconsistent with the rites, » so that it was not proper to use them for interments. This » memorial was favourably received" [2].

Enormous indeed must have been the treasures hoarded up in the imperial mausolea of the House of Han, if we may give credence to the following narrative which is recorded in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty in a biography of the martial statesman Soh Ch'en [3], who lived in the third and the fourth century of our era. » At that time, several thousand families of San-ts'in under com- » mand of Yin Hwan, Kiai Wu etc. pillaged the Pa mausoleum and » the Tu mausoleum of the House of Han [4], carrying off a large » quantity of valuables and treasures. The Emperor then asked Ch'en: » 'How can so much have been hidden in the mausolea of the Han » dynasty?' — 'The Sons of Heaven of that House', replied the other, » 'had their mausolea constructed already in the year next after their » accession to the throne. The whole of the tribute and the taxes of » the Empire were divided into three portions, one portion being » used for the temples of the imperial ancestors, another for the » entertainment of visitors, and a third for filling the mausoleum. The » Emperor Wu enjoyed a long life, and when his end drew near » (87 B. C.) nothing more could be placed in his Meu mausoleum, » and the trees on the spot were then already so thick that both arms » were needed to embrace them. The Vermilion Eyebrow insurgents

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[1] 皇覽曰、漢家之葬方中百步。已穿築爲方城、其中開四門四通、足放六馬。然後錯渾雜物、扞漆繒綺金寶米穀。及埋車馬虎豹禽獸。發近郡卒徒、置將軍尉侯、以後宮貴幸者皆守園陵。元帝葬乃不用車馬禽獸等物. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, *loc. cit.*

[2] 竟寧元年五月元帝朋。六月有司言乘輿車牛馬禽獸皆非禮、不宜以葬。奏可. Chapt. 10, l. 2.

[3] 索綝.

[4] Containing the remains of the Emperors Wen (179—157 B. C.) and Suen (73—48 B. C.).

» rifling the contents of this mausoleum, were not able to carry off » the half thereof; and now-a-days rotten silks in piles and heaps » are still to be found on the spot, neither are the pearls and » articles of jade as yet exhausted. But the other two grave hills » (Pa and Tu) were equipped with economy, and so they have » become a good lesson for hundreds of generations" [1].

These mausolea, which in the first century of our era had escaped the violating hands of rapacious rebels because they were equipped less richly than the others, were deemed worthy of ransacking about three centuries later, and the robbers found themselves amply rewarded for their pains, although a part of the contents had rotted away or become valueless in the course of three hundred years. From this we may judge of the contents of such of the imperial graves as were richly equipped according to the ideas of those times! The said depredations of the Vermilion Eyebrows in the burial grounds of the House of Han are recorded in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty. »In the summer of the next year » (A. D. 24)", they say, » the Vermilion Eyebrow rebel Fan Ch'ung » with several hundred thousands of followers flocked through the » Pass. Burning down palaces, markets and wards in Ch'ang-ngan » city, they worked so much mischief that the people of the Keng » shi period devoured one another from hunger and several hun- » dreds of thousands of them perished. Ch'ang-ngan was converted » into a desert, and inside the city-walls not a soul was to be seen. » The imperial ancestral temples were all forced open and the mau- » solea dug up, and only those of Pa and Tu remained entire" [2].

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[1] 時三秦人尹桓解武等數千家盜發漢霸杜二陵、多獲珍寶。帝問綵曰、漢陵中物何乃多邪。綵對曰、漢天子卽位一年而爲陵。天下貢賦三分之、一供宗廟、一供賓客、一充山陵。漢武帝饗年久長、比崩而茂陵不復容物、其樹皆已可拱。赤眉取陵中物不能減半、于今猶有朽帛委積、珠玉未盡。此二陵是儉者耳、亦百世之誡也. Ch. 60, l. 21.

[2] 明年夏赤眉樊崇等衆數十萬人入關。赤眉遂燒長安宮室市里、害更始民饑餓相食、死者

As stated in the above extract from the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, not one of all the graves of the Han family was equipped like that of the emperor Wu. The grave hill of this prominent figure of the second century before our era was considerably higher than that of the other sovereigns of the same dynasty, it being stated by the Old Ritual of the House of Han that it measured two hundred feet, while the other mausolea were no higher than one hundred and twenty feet (see page 405). During the reign of the emperor Yuen (48—33 B. C.), the statesman Kung Yü [1] memorialized the Throne to protest against the prodigality displayed by the Court in cases of death; this address, which has been preserved in the Books of the Early Han dynasty, contained the following passage: »When the Emperor Wu died »(87 B. C.), the Emperor Chao was still young and weak. Hwoh »Kwang (see page 239) then assumed authority, but he did not »know the right way of observing the ceremonial rescripts. He »recklessly concealed in the tomb large quantities of gold, money, »valuables, birds, animals, fishes, tortoises, cows, horses, tigers »and leopards, burying no less than one hundred and ninety live »animals in all. And all the ladies of the back palace he rele»gated to the mausoleum and its park. In this he sinned heavily »against the rites and revolted against the natural feelings; more»over, it has till now not been made out whether his pro»ceedings were in accordance with the will of our Emperor Wu »himself" [2].

The Books of the Later Han Dynasty, too, contain some particulars about the valuables which in those times used to be placed in the graves of grandees of the highest rank and of female members of the Imperial family. »At the decease of an Imperial »prince of the highest rank, an Imperial prince of lower rank, an »Imperial concubine who had lately been appointed as such, or an

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數十萬。長安爲虛、城中無人行。宗廟園陵皆發掘、惟霸陵杜陵完. Chapter 99, III, l. 33.

[1] 貢禹.

[2] 武帝棄天下、昭帝幼弱。霍光專事、不知禮正。妄多臧金錢財物鳥獸魚鼈牛馬虎豹、生禽凡百九十物盡葬臧之。又皆以後宮女置於園陵。大失禮逆天心、又未必稱武帝意也. Chapter 72, l. 12.

» Imperial princess, orders are given to bestow upon the defunct » in the grave official seals of jade, boxes of jade, and articles » worked with silver thread. In the case of a principal concubine » or of the eldest among the Imperial princesses, there shall be » articles worked with copper thread. The Imperial princes of the » highest rank, the concubines, the Imperial princesses, the princes » of the second and third rank, and the high dignitaries with » titulary rank shall present articles to the defunct, and from the » palace there shall be taken twenty-four articles for the same » purpose. Emissaries (of the Court) shall regulate the funeral and » construct the vault of cypress wood, and the sundry officers shall » in a body accompany the corpse to the grave, in obedience to the » ancient customs" [1].

And in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty it is stated about Hwoh Kwang, the famous minister just mentioned on page 409, that the Emperor »bestowed upon his corpse presents of gold and » money, silk and satin, one hundred embroidered outer garments, » fifty boxes of clothing, insignia of rank made of jade stone, » pearls and emeralds, and clothes adorned with jade. Furthermore » he received a coffin of Rottlera wood, a side-apartment (to store » the articles in), and a set of accumulated yellow intestines (see » page 300), and outside these pieces of cypress wood came the » fifteen articles destined to be placed in the wooden vault. He was » also provided with smooth lamps from the Eastern Park [2]. The » warriors stood in array as far as the Meu mausoleum (of the » Emperor Wu) to see him to the tomb; he received the post- » humous title of Prince of Thorough Perfection, and serfs were » levied from San-ho to excavate and raise the earth, to construct

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1 諸侯王、列侯、始封貴人、公主薨皆令贈印璽、玉柙、銀縷。大貴人、長公主銅縷。諸侯王、貴人、公主、公、將軍、特進皆賜器宮中二十四物。使者治喪、穿作椁椁、百官會送如故事. Ch. 16, l. 10.

2 Fuh Khien 服虔, an author who lived in the later part of the second century, says: »These articles from the Eastern Park looked like square varnished tubs. On » one side, which was open, they were varnished and painted; a mirror was placed » inside, and so they were suspended over the corpse; at the 'fuller dressing' they were » inclosed also in the coffin": 東園處此器形如方漆桶。開一面漆畫之、以鏡置其中、以懸屍上、大斂并蓋之.

» the mound with the sacrificial temple, and to erect ramparts » around the park. The chieftains of three hundred families were » charged with the care of the spot, in accordance with the usages » of former times [1].

Concerning Liang Shang, a high magnate mentioned on page 315, we read: »In the sixth year of the Yung hwo period (A. D. 141), » in autumn, whilst lying dangerously ill, he gave the following » instructions to Ki and his other sons: 'By neglecting to practice » virtue I have enjoyed much prosperity, and though in this life » I did nothing to support the Throne and to be of use to it, » yet they will no doubt squander away their treasures and pos- » sessions upon me after my death. But what profit can my rotten » bones derive from clothes and shrouds, from food and jade in the » mouth, from boxes of jade, from pearls, precious cowries, and » the like? The whole host of officers will take the trouble of » beautifying the aspect of the roads by their numbers, making » piles of dust and dirt; but though they may pretend that such » things are prescribed by the ceremonial institutions, yet there are » times at which it is better to abstain from bringing the same » into practice. Such is the case at present, for, peace does not » reign on the frontiers, the insurgents not yet having been subdued » there; how then can it be proper to impose heavy losses upon » the realm (by performing expensive burials)? When I have given » up the ghost, you must convey me to a shed on the burial » ground and encoffin me there without delay, dressing me in » none but old everyday clothes, without refitting any of them. » And when the coffining is finished, dig the grave, and when the » grave is ready, bury me immediately therein. Sacrifice to me » edibles of the kind I was wont to eat during my life, but do » not make use of the three sacrificial victims. Filial sons distinguish » themselves by executing their father's will, and therefore you » must not disregard mine'.

» At his death, the Emperor personally attended the mourning

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[1] 賜金錢、繒絮、繡被百領、衣五十篋、璧、珠璣、玉衣。梓宮、便房、黃腸題湊各一具、樅木外藏椁十五具。東園溫明。士軍陳至茂陵以送其葬、謚曰宣成侯、發三河卒穿復土、起冢祠堂、置園邑。三百家長丞奉守如舊法. Ch. 68, l. 12 *seq.*

» rites [1]. The sons wished to carry out their father's instructions, » but the Court would not allow them to do so. The Emperor » gave a vermilion longevity receptacle (coffin) from the Eastern » Park, silver works, yellow intestines, boxes of jade, and twenty- » eight kinds of miscellaneous objects, together with two millions » of candareens and three thousand pieces of cloth. The Empress » made a donation of five million candareens and ten thousand » pieces of cloth. And for the obsequies the Emperor gave light » war chariots and harnassed soldiers; the posthumous title of » Faithful Prince was conferred upon the defunct, and the inmates » of the interior palace attended the burial in person. The Emperor » repaired to the balcony of the Gate of Universal Sunlight, for » the purpose of regarding the carts and horsemen" [2].

The monarchs of the Han dynasty, in bestowing upon deserving statesmen coffins and all sorts of things required for a proper equipment of the corpse, ordering out their troops to do honour to the obsequies, and levying serfs to work at the grave, were obviously acting according to precedent, for, as has been pointed out on pages 34, 168 *sqq.* and 340 *seq.*, donations for the funeral and the burial of noblemen and officers had been in vogue in earlier ages. Their behaviour in this respect, which might be

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1 Herefrom we see that the custom of the Cheu dynasty revealed by the extracts from the *I li* and the *Li ki* reproduced on pages 35 *sqq.*, was still maintained in some cases by the sovereigns of the House of Han.

2 永和六年秋商病篤、勅子冀等曰、吾以不德享受多福、生無以輔益朝廷、死必耗費帑藏。衣衾飯唅玉匣珠貝之屬何益朽骨。百僚勞擾紛華道路秖增塵垢、雖云禮制亦有權時。方今邊境不寧、盜賊未息、豈宜重爲國損。氣絶之後載至冢舍、卽時殯歛、歛以時服皆以故衣、無更裁制。殯已開冢、冢開卽葬。祭食如存、無用三牲。孝子善述父志、不宜違我言也。

及薨帝親臨喪。諸子欲從其誨、朝廷不聽。賜以東園朱壽之器、銀鏤、黃腸、玉匣、什物二十八種、錢二百萬、布三千匹。皇后錢五百萬、布萬匹。及葬贈輕車介士、賜謚忠侯、中宮親送。帝幸宣陽亭瞻望車騎. Ch. 64, l. 10.

illustrated by many more instances recorded in the Annals of those times, reminds us of the French practice of interring statesmen of high merit at the expense of the State. And although the Han dynasty hardly falls short of the famous tyrant of the House of Ts'in in wasting wealth on the equipment of the abodes of their dead, yet this practice evidently was considerably on the wane during its rule, for, horses of straw were then buried instead of real horses (see page 403), and even an emperor's father-in-law, viz. Liang Shang, objected to having valuables with him in the grave. This process of deterioration was not at all of recent date even then. It was in full force already in the Confucian age and has been slowly making progress ever since, in constant strife with the religious conservatism of the sacred observances of antiquity. This contest will be analyzed in Chapter VIII, a direct continuation of the present chapter, in which will be discussed some other customs directly evolved from the ancient practice of burying treasures and the requisites of life with the dead.

Discoveries of ancient tombs in which large quantities of valuables had been hoarded up, are often recorded by Chinese authors, even by some of times relatively modern. In the History of the Southern Part of the Realm we have: »In those times (viz. between A. D. » 483 and 493) people dug up the grave of the daughter of Hwan » Wen (a famous warrior and grandee who had lived nearly a » century earlier), and they found scarfs and boxes of gold, and » magnificent objects made of splints interwoven with gold. There » was, moreover, in that tomb a very large quantity of golden silk- » worms, seals of silver, and such like things" [1]. The same work relates that, when Kien, a son of the emperor Kao [2] of the Ts'i dynasty, was Governor of Yih-cheu [3] in the present province of Szĕ-ch'wen, »there was discovered in a garden of that district » an old grave. Nothing was placed over the coffin except a stone » vault, which contained over ten different sorts of copper articles, » three old-fashioned signets of jade, and a very large quantity of » precious objects, a part of which were not recognizable. There » were also several pecks of gold and silver objects shaped like » silk-worms and snakes; besides, a mound had been made of

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1 于時人發桓溫女冢、得金巾箱織金篾爲嚴器。又有金蠶銀璽等物甚多. Ch. 43, l. 11.

2 高帝. A. D. 479—482. 3 益州.

» red sand and a tank of silvery water. Kien was urged by all » those around him to take possession of these things, but he said: » 'Some time ago, people in the country of Yung (part of the » present Shensi province) having dug up an ancient grave and » found therein mirrors of jade with screens and boxes of the same » precious material, the Imperial Heir Apparent returned with those » things to the capital; but I have always cherished opinions different » from his'. He then deputed his meritorious officer Ho Ch'u to » the spot to make a mound for that grave, in order to protect » the valuables from violating hands" [1].

We might quote more cases of this kind, which would occupy space only, without shedding any new light upon our subject. We cannot, however, conclude this chapter without making mention of the fact that, in the earlier centuries of our era, it was not unusual to place also books or other written documents in the graves of the dead.

Many instances hereof are on record. To quote only a few: — Cheu P'an [2], a grandee of renown who lived in the earlier part of the second century, ordered his sons to bury him in a simple style, »to line together tablets of bamboo, two feet and four » inches long, to write out upon these the Canon of Yao (the » first part of the *Shu king*), and to place them in front of his » coffin together with a knife and a pencil, as a token that he » did not forget the principles of the Holy Ones" [3]. Yü Fan [4], who in the third century of our era wrote a commentary upon Lao-tszĕ's *Tao teh king* [5], the famous bible of Taoism [6], »gave orders that he

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[1] 於州園地得古冢。無復棺、但有石槨、銅器十餘種並古形玉璧三枚珍寶甚多、不可皆識。金銀爲蠶蛇形者數斗、又以朱沙爲阜、水銀爲池。左右咸勸取之、鑒曰、皇太子昔在雍有發古冢者得玉鏡玉屏風玉匣之屬、皆將還都、吾意常不同。乃遣功曹何佇爲之起墳、諸寶物一不得犯. Chapter 43, l. 8.

[2] 周磐.

[3] 編二尺四寸簡、寫堯典一篇、并刀筆各一以置棺前、示不忘聖道. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 69, l. 15.

[4] 虞翻.

[5] 道德經.

[6] See the Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms, Memoirs of Wu, chapter 12, l. 5.

» should be buried with economy, and with nothing else about him » but the two chapters of Lao-tszĕ's work, as a proof that he » held in high veneration the tao teh or benefits of the Universal » order of Nature" [1]. And Hwang-fu Mih [2], an author and statesman of high repute who died in A. D. 282, declared in his last will that he desired to be buried without a coffin and without being washed for the grave, and that there should be placed along with him in the earth »nothing but a copy of the Classic of » Filial Devotion (see page 307), as a proof that he never had lost » sight of the laws of filial conduct" [3].

The above quotations deserve peculiar attention, because they render it highly probable that the traditions on record about the discovery of ancient works of note in some of the tombs of grandees of the Cheu dynasty are not quite so untrustworthy as they may perhaps at first sight appear to be. Seeing that in the earlier centuries of our era men of high moral standing were so often desirous of being laid in their graves with such books as they had tried to frame their conduct upon during life, it is not beyond the bounds of reason to suppose that, in times still more ancient, monarchs and princes were entombed with the annals and historical records, which had regulated their conduct in matters of government by placing before their eyes the glorious feats of the ancestors as examples worthy of imitation, and their odious deeds to serve as warning examples.

An important discovery of books in a tomb is recorded in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty in the following words: »In the second year » of the T'ai khang period (A. D. 281) some lawless parties in » the department of Kih broke open the grave of king Siang of Wei [4], » or, according to others, that of king Ngan Li (who died in 243 » B. C.), and discovered some tens of cart-loads of inscribed bamboo » tablets [5]. Among these there was a set of Annals in thirteen

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1 翻遺令儉葬、唯以老子兩卷、示存道德而已. *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 22.

2 皇甫謐.

3 唯齎孝經一卷、示不忘孝道. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 51, l. 10.

4 According to the *Si-king tsah ki* this tomb had been ransacked before that time by a prince of Kwang-ch'wen (see page 397). This magnate seems therefore not to have done his work thoroughly.

5 According to chapter 3 of the Books of the Tsin Dynasty (l. 18), the discovery took place in the year 479, and the tablets contained more than a hundred thousand words written in the small seal character.

» chapters, beginning with the Hia dynasty and extending down » to the overthrow of king Yiu of the Cheu dynasty by the Dog » Barbarians (771 B. C.), the matters therein recorded thus embrac- » ing three Houses of sovereigns. The tablets treated, moreover, » of matters relating to the realm of Wei down to the 20th. year » of the reign of king Ngan Li, so that they constituted an historical » book of that state. Generally speaking, they agree on most points » with what is recorded in the *Ch'un ts'iu*, but in many places » they deviate considerably from the traditions contained in the » Classics .... Those who broke open the grave had set fire to the » tablets, to light them to their work of robbery. Hence, when » the officers laid hold of the tablets, many had been burned » or displaced, so that the inscriptions had sustained injury and » mutilation, and could no longer be deciphered. The Emperor Wu » transferred these documents to his private library, to have them » collated and arranged, and there they were examined successively, » each being assigned its proper place, after which they were tran- » scribed in modern characters" [1].

The Annals in thirteen chapters, mentioned in this extract, are now extant under the title of »The Annals of the Bamboo Books" [2]. Among the works recovered were also, according to some, »The Books of Cheu" [3], which since the Sui dynasty and that of T'ang have been entitled, »The Books of Cheu obtained from the tomb in Kih" [4]. But this assertion appears to be destitute of credible foundation, a work bearing the title of »Books of Cheu in seventy-one articles" [5] being mentioned already in the catalogue of works given in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty (chapter 30, l. 4).

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[1] 初太康二年汲郡人不準盜發魏襄王墓、或言安釐王冢、得竹書數十車。其紀年十三篇記夏以來至周幽王爲犬戎所滅、以事接之三家分。仍述魏事至安釐王之二十年、蓋魏國之史書。大略與春秋皆多相應、其中經傳大異.... 初發冢者燒策照取寶物。及官收之多燼簡斷札、文既殘缺不復詮。次武帝以其書付祕書校綴、次第尋考指歸、而以今文寫之. Ch. 51, l. 25.

[2] 竹書紀年. [3] 周書. [4] 汲冢周書. [5] 周書七十一篇.

Another large discovery of literary treasures in an ancient tomb is made mention of in the Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty. » At that time (viz. between A. D. 465 and 472), a gang of robbers » in Siang-yang (province of Hukwang) dug up a tomb of ancient » date, which tradition asserted to be that of a king of Ch'u. » They possessed themselves of a large quantity of valuables, shoes » and screens of jade, and inscribed tablets of bamboo, strung » together with blue silk. These tablets were a few inches broad » and two feet long; the bark and the nodes looked as if they » were new. The robbers bundled them together into torches, in » order to obtain light. Afterwards some one came into possession » of more than ten of these tablets and informed the military » governor Wang Sang-khien of the fact; this grandee declared » them to be the »Artificer's Record", a missing part of the Official » Book of Cheu (*i. e.* the *Cheu li*), written in frog-shaped characters. » The authorities then deputed a commission to make further » inquiries; and as this commission discovered more of such relics, » their identity with or difference from other copies became a topic » of discussion for some time" [1].

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[1] 時襄陽有盜發古塚者、相傳云是楚王塚。大獲寶物、玉屐、玉屏風、竹簡書青絲編。簡廣數分、長二尺、皮節如新。盜以把火自照。後人有得十餘簡、以示撫軍王儉虔、儉虔云、是科斗書考工記、周官所闕文也。是時州遣按驗、頗得遺物、故有同異之論. Chapter 21, l. 2.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING LARGE TOMBS, BIG TUMULI, AND GRAVE TREES.

As has been shown in the foregoing chapter, the style in which the dead were anciently equipped for the grave in China was regulated by the position and wealth of the deceased. Taking this fact into consideration, it may readily be suggested, without documentary evidence, that the dimensions of the graves and the mode of constructing them were likewise proportioned to the social standing of the occupants and to their pecuniary circumstances in life. This is in point of fact the case. At the outset the clay dwellings of the living became their graves; and as the better classes naturally improved their dwellings under the influence of steadily advancing civilisation, so they began to pay more attention to their graves.

Indeed, some tumuli which tradition pointed out as having covered the remains of sovereigns of China in mythical times, were of considerable size. »According to the Memoirs of the Department » of P^{c}ing-yang (a part of the province of Shansi), the mausoleum » of the monarch Nü Kwa (28th. century B. C.), situated near the » village of Heu-ts^{c}un in the district of Chao-ch^{c}ing, contained two » grave mounds, east and west of each other with a distance of » forty-nine p u (of six feet?) between them; each of these mounds » was two c h a n g (of ten feet) high and had a circumference of » forty-eight c h a n g. The ancient mausoleum of T^{c}ao T^{c}ang (*i. e.* » Yao, 23rd. century B. C.) was at a distance of seventy miles to the » east of the capital of the (P^{c}ing-yang) department; the hill was » one hundred and fifty feet high and over two hundred p u broad. » And the mausoleum of Shun of Yü (23rd. century B. C.) was » twenty miles to the west of the district city of Ngan-yih; the » hill was three c h a n g high and begirt with bricks, and on every » side it was over forty p u broad. The demains belonging to it » inside and outside covered an area of more than a hundred m e u, » and all the old cypresses on the spot had a circumference of » about ten spans"[1].

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[1] 按平陽府志、女媧皇陵在趙城縣侯村里、有

So far for the alleged tumuli of monarchs of a fabulous or semi-fabulous antiquity, mounds which perhaps covered the remains of grandees who lived at a more recent period, but about whom no reminiscences have been preserved. More historical value is to be attached to the statement already inserted on page 396, according to which the mausoleum of king Hoh Lü was of a size so enormous as to have required the labour of tens of thousands of serfs to build it; this mausoleum may have still existed in the time when the *Yueh tsueh shu*, which records the statement, was written. The same book also contains the following description of the mausoleum of Hoh Lü's daughter, which shows that her grave covered a large area of ground: »The grave of Hoh Lü's daughter » was situated outside the Ch'ang gate (of the capital [1]), on the » north side of the road. Its lower square tank was forty-eight » pu wide and had a water depth of twenty-five feet. The other » tank measured sixty pu, with a depth of ten feet five inches. » The grave tunnel opened upon the road which led to the temple » and which ran further in a southern direction through the Ku- » sü gate. The whole ground had a circumference of six miles. » Playing with cranes in the market-streets of Wu, they killed » living people to make them accompany the defunct" [2].

The mausoleum of king Siang was undoubtedly very large, since the crypt alone could hold forty people (see pages 289 and 397). The grave of the ruler Ngai must likewise have been of respectable dimensions, for it is recorded (see pages 397 *seq.*) that Kü-tsih

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二冢、東西相距四十九步、各高二丈、周圍各四十八丈。古陶唐氏陵在府城東七十里、陵高一百五十尺、廣二百餘步。虞舜陵在安邑縣西二十里、陵高三丈、甃以甓、方廣四十餘步。內外共地百餘畝、古柏皆大可十餘圍. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 129.

1 This bore the name of Wu 吳, and was situated on the site now occupied by the city of Su-cheu 蘇州 in Kiangsu province.

2 闔廬子女冢在閶門外、道北。下方池廣四十八步、水深二丈五尺。池廣六十步、水深丈五寸。墜出廟路以南通姑胥門。并周六里。舞鶴吳市殺生以送死. Chapter II.

discovered therein not only an underground passage which contained stone images representing a military guard, but also a crypt containing the coffin, and another crypt, evidently designed to be a dormitory for the soul. During the Han dynasty, or somewhat later, the tumulus of Confucius and its demesnes also covered a large plot of ground, it being stated by the Imperial Mirror that »the ground »for his grave covered an area of one hundred m e u; the grave »measured ten p u from north to south, and thirteen from east to »west, and was twelve feet high" [1].

After all, we see that there are no reasons to mistrust the *Li ki*, when it says with reference to the pre-Christian epoch (ch. 34, l. 24): »The size of things sometimes is a mark of rank and »position. The dimensions of palaces and houses, the measurements »of utensils and dishes, the thickness of coffins and grave vaults, »and the size of grave hills and grave mounds, are a mark of »rank and position" [2]. In other words, just as the dwellings which people occupy during life signalize by their dimensions their social standing, so after death do their graves. The *Li ki* says besides (ch. 25, l. 15): »The rules of mourning are revised »in the first month of winter, the distinctions of the grave »garments are then defined, and an enquiry is held as to how »thick or how thin coffins and funeral vaults should be, and »how large or how small the graves and tumuli. The height (of »the mounds) and the thickness (of the coffins and vaults) are »proportioned to the degree or rank of high and low" [3]. That the cold season was appointed for such business is most reasonable. For, winter is the period of death, the vitalizing power of Nature being then reduced to a minimum. We shall often have occasion to show that it has always been a principle of Chinese monarchs and feudal lords in ancient times to conform to the course of Nature in the administration of their realms and appanages.

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[1] 孔子冢塋百畝、冢南北廣十步、東西十三步、高一丈二尺. Khienlung edition of the *Shi ki*, chapter 47, l. 28.

[2] 有以大爲貴者。宮室之量、器皿之度、棺槨之厚、丘封之大、此以大爲貴也. Sect. 禮器, I.

[3] 孟冬之月飭喪紀、辨衣裳、審棺槨之厚薄、塋丘壟之大小。高卑厚薄之度貴賤之等級. Sect. 月令, VI.

That during the Cheu dynasty large graves pertained to people of high position and merit, smaller ones to men of lower rank and less merit, is confirmed by a page of the *Cheu li*, which contains the instructions to a certain Officer for the Grave Mounds, a functionary of high standing, as may be seen from the fact that » he was placed at the head of a staff consisting of two Great officers » of secondary rank, four ordinary officers of medium rank, two store- » house keepers, four clerks, twelve assistants, and one hundred and » twenty followers"[1]. » He has charge of the Ruler's grave ground; » he must appoint the place where it is to be made, and map it » out. The grave of the first sovereign is situated in the middle, » the line of his posterity forming the right and left flank. The » feudal lords are also to the right and left, but in front; the high » nobles, Great officers and ordinary officers are arranged towards the » back (in a corresponding manner). Each one is placed according » to his rank in the family hierarchy. Those who have been killed » by arms do not enter this burial ground. All persons of merit » lie in front. The dimensions of the mounds must correspond with » the rank of nobility, and so must the number of the trees.

» At Great Funerals, when they proceed to construct the burial » cave, he gives the measurements for the hill and the tunnel (see page » 374), and provides the funereal objects which will be required when » the corpse is placed in the grave. He assigns a place for each grave, » keeps people away from the ground, and guards the limits of the » tombs. Whenever a feudal lord or a minister is buried, the Officer » of the Grave Mounds assigns by divination the place for the grave, » keeps encroachers away from it, and assigns the limits thereof"[2].

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[1] 冢人下大夫二人、中士四人、府二人、史四人、胥十有二人、徒百有二十人. Chapter 17, l. 12.

[2] 冢人掌公墓之地、辨其兆域而爲之圖。先王之葬居中、以昭穆爲左右。凡諸侯居左右以前、卿大夫士居後。各以其族。凡死于兵者不入兆域。凡有功者居前。以爵等爲丘封之度與其樹數。

大喪及窆以度爲丘隧、共喪之窆器。正墓位、蹕墓域、守墓禁。凡諸侯及諸臣葬于墓者授之兆、爲之蹕、均其禁. Chapter 21, l. 42 *sqq.*

Commentators unanimously agree that the feudal lords, Great officers and other grandees referred to in this extract, were members of the Ruler's family. Consequently, the royal burial grounds at those times were actually family grave-yards in which the tombs were arranged in two sets of parallel rows, diverging to the right and left from a central point occupied by the grave of the common ancestor. Hence, in respect of the arrangement of the graves, these burial grounds did not essentially differ from the grave-yards of distinguished families still to be found in the northern provinces at the present day, and about which something has been said on page 376.

The custom of erecting graves of large dimensions for monarchs seems to have reached its culminating point in the case of Shi Hwang. The historical particulars extant about the construction of his mausoleum have been reproduced already on pages 399 *seq.*; though hazy and uncertain, they fully entitle us to draw the conclusion that this funereal monument was of a size really gigantic. P'ei Yin [1], the learned commentator on the Historical Records who lived in the fifth century, says: »According to the Imperial Mirror, »the grave mound was over fifty chang high and had a circum»ference of over five miles" [2]. This statement is confirmed by the *Poh wuh chi* [3], a little work probably composed in the third century, when, as this book states, the mound was still extant. »The »grave hill of Shi Hwang", it says, »is to the north of mount Li. »It is several tens of chang high and has a circumference of six »or seven miles. Now it is situated on the borders of the Yin-p'an »district, in the north" [4].

It is certainly to be regretted that Chinese literature does not contain more noteworthy particulars about that mausoleum, which doubtless was one of the largest ever constructed by the hand of man. That a temple was built within its precincts we may conclude from the passage quoted on page 388; but the rest is left to our own imagination. More ample information the native books contain about the mausolea of the sovereigns of the Han dynasty,

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[1] 裴駰.

[2] 皇覽曰、墳高五十餘丈、周廻五里餘. Khien-lung edition of the *Shi ki*, chapter 6, l. 30.

[3] 博物志, written by Chang Hwa 張華, a Minister of State.

[4] 始皇陵在麗山之北。高數十丈、周廻六七里。今在陰盤縣界北. Chapter 6.

information which is sufficient for us to draw up a very fair picture of the way in which these monuments were laid out, and to ascertain their dimensions. If we glean the data and combine them with some circumspection, we arrive at the following conclusion.

Every emperor had his own mausoleum. The construction was commenced immediately after his accession to the throne, as stated by the Old Ritual of the House of Han, quoted on page 405. According to short notices interpolated by commentators in the biographies of emperors, which are to be found in the Historical Records (chapters 8 to 12) and in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty (chapters 1 to 12), the mausolea of the first eleven sovereigns of the House of Han were situated for the greater part to the north, north-east and north-west of the metropolis Ch'ang-ngan [1], at distances varying from thirty-five to eighty Chinese miles; only one was to the south of the metropolis, fifty miles distant, and one to the south-east, distant seventy miles. They are denoted in the books by the general term ling [2], »hillocks", but each in particular had a name of its own, composed of the word ling with a monosyllabic prefix which was derived, in some cases, from the name of a village or mountain in the neighbourhood, in others, from some river flowing by the spot, or from some peculiarity of the surrounding country.

The name ling was applied to these mausolea because an artificial hillock, thrown up by the hand of man, covered the imperial remains. Only the Pa ling [3], the one situated south-east of the capital and covering the corpse of Wen [4], the third emperor of the dynasty, who died in the year 157 B. C., is stated by Ying Shao [5], an author of renown who lived in the second century, »to have »had no artificial mound, the place for hiding the corpse having »been constructed in a natural mountain" [6].

As for the dimensions of these grave hills, only with regard to four of them are there figures on record. Hwang-fu Mih, the celebrated expositor of the ancient writings mentioned on page 415, wrote in the third century that the Ch'ang ling [7], the hill of Kao Tsu [8],

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1 長安, near the modern Si-ngan-fu 西安府 in the province of Shensi.

2 陵.

3 霸陵. It was mentioned already on pages 407 *seq.*

4 文.

5 應劭.

6 因山爲藏、不復起墳. Khienlung edition of the *Shi ki*, chapter 10, l. 18.

7 長陵.

8 高祖.

the first emperor of the dynasty, was thirteen chang of ten feet high and one hundred and twenty chang (or pu?) broad from east to west [1]; the Yang ling [2] of King [3], the fourth Emperor, measured, according to the same authority, fourteen chang and one hundred and twenty pu [4]. Of the Ngan ling [5] of Hwui [6], the second emperor, the dimensions were, according to the Imperial Mirror, thirty-two chang and one hundred and twenty pu, the hill covering an area of sixty meu [7]; and finally, the Meu ling [8] or tumulus of Wu [9], the fifth monarch, was fourteen chang high and measured one hundred pu. This last statement we owe to the *San-fu hwang t'u* [10] or »Map of the Imperial Private Possessions in San-fu", an ancient collection of topographical particulars concerning Ch'ang-ngan and its environs which were known during the Han dynasty as the San-fu country; it is from an unknown hand and gives descriptions of buildings, temples, altars, graves, bridges, and so forth. Figures about the other mounds of the Early Han dynasty we have not found in print.

The above statement that the hill of Hwui was thirty-two chang high must be accepted with great reserve. Hwui was a monarch of no significance whatever, who reigned only about six years under the tutelage of his mother. There is probably a misprint in this case and we ought to read twelve, instead of thirty-two. Had the hill actually been so enormous, special mention would certainly have been made of it in the *Kwan chung ki* [11] or »Description of the Country inside the Mountain passes" (*i. e.* Ch'ang-ngan and its environs); but this work says: »The grave hills of the Han »dynasty were all twelve chang high and one hundred and twenty »pu square, and the Meu ling alone was fourteen chang by »one hundred and forty pu" [12].

The burial ceremonies of the emperors of the House of Han, as reproduced on pages 401 *sqq.* of this work, show that the imperial

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1 Historical Records, chapter 8, l. 37. 2 陽陵. 3 景.
4 Historical Records, chapter 11, l. 6. 5 安陵. 6 惠.
7 Historical Records, chapter 9, l. 4. 8 茂陵. 9 武.
10 三輔黃圖. 11 關中記.
12 漢諸陵皆高一十二丈、方一百二十步、惟茂陵高一十四丈、方一百四十步. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 129.

remains were deposited underneath the mound, inside a crypt called fang[1] or »apartment", communicating with the outside by a hung-tung[2] or »profound cave" which was closed by a door. This door opened on a road called yen or yen-tao[3]. No doubt the »profound cave" was something like a tunnel or underground passage, and may have been lined with wood, stone or bricks; although this is nowhere expressly stated. It is, however, tolerably certain that the crypt itself was vaulted, funeral vaults of wood and stone having been of common prevalence in ancient China, as is shown on pages 288 *sqq.* The *San-fu hwang tʿu* states indeed, that in the Pʿing mausoleum[4] of the emperor Chao[5] »the stone vault was twelve feet broad and twenty-five feet long"[6]. Moreover, as the protection of the illustrious dead from injuries was one of the main objects connected with big grave mounds, it is scarcely to be supposed that emperors would be buried in unvaulted caves, liable at any moment to give way under a weight of earth, which would crush the coffin. According to the Old Ritual of the Han Dynasty, the crypts were seventeen feet high and twenty square; a great amount of valuables, implements and other things were stored away there for the use of the defunct, and the coffin was covered with a pile of wood cut from the core of cypress trees (see page 405).

Grave tunnels like those mentioned above were constructed in the tumuli of the sovereigns of the Cheu dynasty, as shown by the passage in the *Cheu li* quoted on page 421. They are denoted in that work, and also elsewhere, by a special graphic sign, viz. 隧 or 墜, pronounced sui. It seems that in the age of Cheu only monarchs were entitled to have them, as it is written in the *Tso chʿwen*: »The feudal lord of Tsin was granted an audience by the »king (of Cheu) and asked that the privilege of having a tunnel »might be granted to him; but the king refused, saying that this »was a distinction reserved for kings"[7]. That such subterranean passages were probably only a transformation of the entrances of the clay dwellings of the living has been demonstrated on page 374.

For further particulars about the mausolea of the Han dynasty we are thrown back upon the Old Ritual of that House and upon

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1 房. 2 鴻洞. 3 羨 or 羨道. 4 平陵.
5 昭. 6 石槨廣一丈二尺、長二丈五尺. Ch. 6.
7 晉侯朝王、請隧、弗許曰、王章也. Twenty-fifth year of the Ruler Hi.

the Imperial Mirror. What these works contain on the subject has been reproduced on pages 405 *seq.*, so that we have now only to compile the data for the convenience of the reader. The tumulus was situated within a square plot of ground called the »square central part"[1]. This had a superficies of one khiung of a hundred meu, which, supposing the superficial measures of those times to be the same as the present, would give about six hectares, or a length of two hundred and forty-five metres on every side; — the ancient khiung may, however, have been considerably smaller, or even larger. The Imperial Mirror says that the square measured one hundred pu or six hundred Chinese feet on every side. It was excavated to a depth of thirteen chang. Hence it must have looked like an immense pit, out of which the huge hill raised its stately summit aloft.

We may surmise that the earth dug out from the square was used for throwing up the hill. It may, however, have served also for the construction of the wall which surrounded the square (see page 406); although it is nowhere explicitly stated that this wall was of earth, and it may have been of bricks or stone. On one side of the wall there were four broad gates, through which six horses could pass abreast; probably, as is the case in such structures of the present day, they formed one single gateway with four openings placed side by side in a row. From these gates a stone-paved road, the yen-tao, led up to the tunnel. There may have been gates also on each of the other three façades of the square, but the Imperial Mirror does not express itself clearly on this point. A plot of ground, six times as large as the central square, was subjoined to the mausoleum by way of demesnes, and by being partly or entirely planted with trees, was converted into a park. The *San-fu hwang t'u* states that »the Ngan mausoleum possessed orchards and a deer park"[2].

Buildings serving for sundry purposes were erected in the mausoleum-grounds. In the first place, there was a hall, thirty feet high, probably containing an altar assigned for sacrificing to the manes of the occupant of the tomb. The fact that this building is mentioned by the Old Ritual of the Han Dynasty in the same breath with the hill and the inner square (see page 405) renders it probable that it was situated inside the latter and not far from the hill; perhaps it stood right in front of the tunnel, between this and the quadruple gate mentioned above. The square contained also

[1] 方中. [2] 安陵有果園鹿苑云. Chapter 6.

some abodes for such ladies of the harem as were of high rank, or had stood in high favour with the deceased monarch and were therefore deemed worthy to dwell near his grave as guardians. The *San-fu hwang t'u* says: »The wall circumvallating »the Ch'ang ling had a circumference of seven miles and »one hundred and eighty pu. It formed also an enclosure for »the temple. The gate had four outlets. In the central square »there were side halls, side apartments with court-yards, and »mansions for officers" [1]. The enormous size of this wall leads us to believe that it embraced the circumjacent demesnes of the mausoleum, and that the hill was in consequence surrounded by two distinct ramparts, constructed at a considerable distance from each other. According to the Books of the Early Han Dynasty [2] the outer wall was erected five years after the demise of the emperor Kao Tsu, who lay buried there.

Warriors and serfs, continues the Imperial Mirror, were levied from the neighbouring districts for the protection of the mausolea, and placed under command of a military chief specially appointed to this office (page 406). Thus garrisoned, the imperial burial places in those times were strongholds in the true sense of the word, being surrounded either by a single or by a double wall, whilst the entrance to the hill was defended by a sword-gate, hidden ballistic machines, and secret fire. Bands of robbers and hosts of rebels might otherwise invade the sacred grounds and pillage the treasures hoarded up in the crypt, and any harm done to the remains or the spirit would entail the downfall of the Throne, nay, the death of the imperial offspring, according to the fung-shui doctrines which will be explained in Chapter XII.

With a view to emergencies of this sort, the emperors in some cases went so far as to found a walled city in the neighbourhood, and to render it incumbent upon the inhabitants to defend the mausoleum for the protection of which it was built. The first monarch of the House of Han had already done this for his father, although the latter had never been seated on the throne. The »emperor Kao", says the *San-fu hwang t'u*, »after having buried »his imperial father in the high and level grounds to the north »of Lih-yang, founded the district city of Wan-nien inside the

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1 長陵城周七里百八十步。因爲殿垣。門四出。及便殿、掖庭、諸官寺皆在中. Chapter 6. 2 Chapter 3, l. 3.

» great walls of Lih-yang, as a place to be intrusted with the care » of the fortifications of the mausoleum" [1]. The name he gave to that city is characteristic. It means »Ten thousand Years", and would, he hoped, ensure to the mausoleum, and consequently to his family, an existence of hundreds of centuries.

Of Kao's own burial place it is on record that »to the north of » it was the city of Siao, which had been built by (his prime » minister) Siao Ho for the defence of the Ch'ang mausoleum. At » the outset of the rule of the Han dynasty, the warlike families » living to the east of the Passes were transferred to the spot, that » they might be entrusted with the care of the fortifications of the » monument. Ten thousand families were appointed for the Ch'ang » mausoleum and the same number for the Meu mausoleum, » these families being placed under the control of the Board of » Sacrifices, and not under the local prefect" [2]. Such draconical measures, compelling thousands of people to shift their place of abode, were doubtlessly enforced at the cost of numberless human lives and unheard-of misery.

It seems that seven mausolea were provided in this wise with defenders, for it is stated in the *Kwan chung ki* that »a trans- » ference of the people and foundation of a district city has occurred » seven times. In the case of the Ch'ang mausoleum and the » Meu mausoleum over ten thousand families were transferred, and » in each of the other five cases five thousand" [3]. These seven mausolea were probably those of the first seven emperors of the dynasty, it being on record that the eighth emperor, Yuen [4], mentioned on pages 406 *seq.*, forbade the building of a district city in the neighbourhood of his own burial place, which, in accordance with the prevailing usage of those times, was being laid

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[1] 高帝葬太上皇於櫟陽北原、因置萬年縣於櫟陽大城內、以爲奉陵邑. Chapter 6.

[2] 其北有蕭城、蕭何築以守長陵。漢初徙關東豪族以奉陵邑。長陵茂陵各萬戶、屬太常、不隸於郡. The »General Memoirs of Shensi province" 陝西通志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 129.

[3] 徙民置縣凡七。長陵茂陵萬戶餘、五陵各五千戶. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, the same section and the same chapter.

[4] 元.

out in his lifetime. »In the fourth year of the Yung kwang »period" (40 B. C.), so we read in the Standard Histories, »he »promulgated an edict of the following contents. 'To live quietly »on their native soil and to have an aversion from migrating, »such is the character of the people, and their natural feelings »make them yearn to live together with those of their own flesh »and bone for mutual support. Erewhile an officer, acting under »the impulse of the duties of ministers and sons (towards their »sovereigns and their fathers), presented a memorial to Us, proposing »that the population of the departments and the capital might be »transplanted, to be entrusted with the care of Our mausoleum and »its park-grounds. But such a measure would compel these same »people to leave far behind them the tombs of their ancestors; it »would interrupt their professions and vocations, and cause them to »lose their property; it would separate relatives connected by ties »of blood, and so cause the people to cherish hankering affections, »and their families to harbour feelings of uneasiness. Consequently, »if such a useless and money-devouring calamity be brought over »them by their chiefs, there will be inside the Mountain passes »no people who can be relied upon; hence the measure proposed »is not fitted to ensure a long existence to the Throne. No »fortified district city must be founded for the mausoleum which »is now being built, in order that everybody in the Empire may »live quietly upon his own grounds and take pleasure in the »exercise of his vocation, without harbouring the intention of »creating disturbances. Promulgate this throughout the Realm, and »let it be clearly and plainly taken cognizance of'. The Emperor »also abolished the guards for the grave walls of the father and »mother of the deceased Empress" [1].

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[1] 永光四年詔曰、安土重遷黎民之性、骨肉相附人情所願也。頃者有司、緣臣子之義奏徙郡國民以奉園陵。令百姓遠棄先祖墳墓、破業、失產、親戚別離、人懷思慕之心、家有不安之意。是以東垂被虛耗之害、關中有無聊之民、非久長之策也。今所爲初陵者勿置縣邑、使天下咸安土樂業、亡有動搖之心。布告天下、令明知之。又罷先后父母奉邑. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 9, l. 10 *seq.*

The forced removal of so many thousands of people from their homesteads at the same time furnished the manual labour required for the building of the mausoleum. Hence it took place as soon as the works were begun. Tens of thousands had been consigned in this way to the mausolea of Hoh Lü and Shi Hwang, as stated on pages 396 and 400, and the emperors of the Han dynasty did not fall much behind of these monarchs in this respect. It is stated in the General Memoirs of Shensi that, when the mausoleum of Hwui, the second emperor of that dynasty, was being constructed, his mother, »the empress Lü, removed from the country east of the Mountain »passes five thousand families of singers, actors and musicians, and »made them build the hill and the fortifications. As these people »were versed in jesting and joking, that monument obtained the »name of the mausoleum of female jesting" [1]. The empress was probably aware that it would be no great detriment to the welfare of the country to rid it of such a useless element. In the *San-fu hwang t'u* we read that, »according to another work »called *San-fu kiu shi* or 'Antiquities of San-fu', the emperor Wu »sent sixteen thousand families to the village of Meu in the Kwei-li »district, to build the Meu mausoleum" [2].

The Histories of those times contain some interesting particulars relating to a mausoleum styled Ch'ang ling [3], which Ch'ing [4], the ninth monarch of the Han dynasty, undertook to build for himself, but never completed, particulars well worth reproducing because they show what the burdens were which the construction of such a funereal monument imposed upon the people and the public treasuries. »In the first year of the Hung kia period (20 B. C.) »he travelled to his mausoleum, which then bore no definitive »name, and proclaimed an amnesty for the serfs at work there [5]. »And in the summer of the next year he sent to the spot the »warlike characters from amongst the people of the departments, »paid more than five hundred times ten thousand coins for the

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[1] 呂后徙關東倡優樂人五千戶以爲陵邑。善於啁謔、俗呼女啁陵. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 129.

[2] 三輔舊事云、武帝於槐里茂鄉徙戶一萬六千、置茂陵. Chapter 6

[3] 昌陵. [4] 成. [5] 鴻嘉元年行幸初陵、赦作徒. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 10, l. 9.

» Ch'ang mausoleum, and relegated anew five thousand families » to it[1]. In the first year of the period Yung shi (16 B. C.) he » promulgated an edict of the following tenor. 'We have heard that » the Superintendant of Works and Great Architect (Kiai) Wan- » nien pretended that the Ch'ang mausoleum could be finished in » three years. But they have been at work there now for five years » already, and yet they have not begun at the parts within the » gate of the Marshal's Hall. The Realm is being ruined by useless » outlays, the people are weary of the labours imposed upon » them, and carry the earth to the spot from afar in a careless » manner and with aversion, so that it will not be possible ever to » finish the work. Reflecting on the hardships they have to sus- » tain, We labour under affliction and commiseration. Errors which » are not amended, such errors indeed deserve the name of errors; » therefore We stop the works of that mausoleum and interdict the » transportation of people to such monuments of former times, lest » there should arise in the Empire a spirit of agitation'[2].

» And in the next year an Imperial edict was issued, running » as follows: 'Some time ago, the Superintendant of Works and » Great Architect Wan-nien, although he was aware that the » Ch'ang mausoleum was situated on low grounds and therefore » could not serve as an abode for an Emperor, requested the » Throne nevertheless to lay out, to build and to found fortifications » on the spot. Under pretence of being a capable man, he has » in a wrong wise piled up the earth and erected heights, » drawing together for that purpose multitudes of serfs; and he » has committed such precipitate and cruel acts, that the deaths » entailed by the sudden misery which has befallen these serfs, » have followed each other in an unbroken sequence. The people are » utterly exhausted, the Imperial treasuries empty. (Wang) Hiung,

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[1] 二年夏徙郡國豪傑、貲五百萬以上五千戶于昌陵. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 10.

[2] 永始元年詔曰、朕過聽將作大匠萬年言昌陵三年可成。作治五年、中陵司馬殿門內尚未加功。天下虛耗、百姓罷勞、客土疏惡、終不可成。朕惟其難、怛然傷心。夫過而不改是謂過矣、其罷昌陵及故陵勿徙吏民、令天下毋有勸搖之心.

» Our Minister attending the Court in constant service, has, while » still a Minister in the Board of Revenues, frequently advised the » Throne not to finish the Ch'ang mausoleum; and Ch'ang, Our » Chamberlain and Commander of the officers of the Body Guard, » has often demonstrated that it would be preferable to put a » stop to the works at once, and to send the families, who » have been consigned to the spot, back to their former homes. » We have now laid Ch'ang's demonstrations under the me- » morial of Hiung, and thereupon the high nobility, discussing » the matter, have unanimously expressed their adhesion to the » proposal of Ch'ang. So We place this excellent project ahead, » and enact it. Hiung, Our Treasurer, will rid Us of these great » outlays, and the people thereby enjoy rest and peace. The dignity » of Nobleman inside the Mountain passes has already been conferred » upon Hiung, and a donation of a hundred pounds of gold bestowed » upon him. As to Ch'ang, he is hereby invested with the same » dignity; a domain of a thousand families is assigned to him, and » another of five hundred to Hiung. But Wan-nien, the venom of » whose treachery, depravity and disloyalty is flowing forth all » around amongst the people, and upon whom looks of hate are » cast at the present day on all sides between the seas, may abide » no longer in the metropolis, although We cast a veil over his » crimes and forgive him. We banish him to the department of » Tun-hwang" [1] (in the far North-west of the Empire).

In addition to the above let it be stated that, according to chapter 70 (l. 18) of the same Books of the Early Han Dynasty,

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[1] 二年詔曰、前將作大匠萬年知昌陵卑下、不可爲萬歲居、奏請營作建置郭邑。妄爲巧詐積土增高、多賦歛繇役、興卒暴之作、卒徒蒙辜死者連屬。百姓罷極、天下匱竭。常侍閎前爲大司農中丞數奏昌陵不可成、侍中衞尉長數白宜早止、徙家反故處。朕以長言下閎章、公卿議者皆合長計。首建至策。閎典主省大費、民以康寧。閎前賜爵關內侯、黃金百斤。其賜長爵關內侯、食邑千戶、閎五百戶。萬年佞邪不忠毒流衆庶、海內怨望至今不息、雖蒙赦、令不宜居京師。其徙萬年敦煌郡. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 11 *seq.*

the emperor Ch'ing had, at the instigation of Wan-nien, founded also a district city near the Ch'ang mausoleum, to which he consigned the people of the inner departments. Furthermore it is recorded that there had been much opposition to the plans of that Great Architect on the part of other officers. They objected to the crypt as not being constructed beneath the level of the surrounding ground, but covered by clay and mould obtained from elsewhere, so that the mound could never afford a proper shelter for the imperial manes; moreover, they had calculated that the earth for the hill had to be carried from such a distance that it cost nearly as much as a like quantity of corn, so that the works must inevitably drain the treasuries. Strong arguments had also come from Liu Hiang [1], the most distinguished statesman, scholar and historiographer of his time. The lengthy protest entered by him, in which he appeals to almost all the instances, on record in Chinese history, of famous men who had been buried in plain graves of small dimensions, is reproduced, probably unabridged, in chapter 36 of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty (l. 22 *sqq.*).

In thus disposing arbitrarily of the persons and the labour of their subjects, the emperors of the Ts'in dynasty and the Han dynasty evidently started from the principle, always recognized in China as the leading article of public law, that »everything underneath the heavens belongs to the Son of Heaven as his personal property" [2], not even excepting the bodies of his subjects, who are his slaves in the most absolute sense of the word. There can scarcely be a doubt that the same principle prevailed in times prior to Shi Hwang, and that in those ages the princely mausolea, like most government buildings, were constructed by means of forced labour. The extract relative to the mausoleum of Hoh Lü, inserted on page 396, tends to confirm this supposition. In the long series of centuries which lie between the Han dynasty and the present day, matters have not much changed; so *e. g.* it is explicitly stated in the History of the Sung Dynasty that »the Emperor Jen Tsung having died in »1056, Ying Tsung (his successor) laid down the rules for the »mourning dress to be worn for the Emperor, and had the Yung-»chao mausoleum made ready and delivered up, both matters being »regulated with observance of what had been done previously in »the case of the Ting mausoleum (of Jen Tsung's predecessor).

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[1] 劉向. [2] 天子有天下.

» He relegated 46,700 serfs to the spot from sundry parts of the » Empire, to work at it" [1]. Such a measure was not desisted from, even though the deceased monarch had explicitly declared in his last will that economy and moderation should be observed with regard to the style and dimensions of his burial place [2].

The tendency displayed by the emperors of the latter part of the Early Han dynasty to have their mausolea laid out with more simplicity and at less cost of human labour, seems to have influenced the monarchs of the Later Han dynasty. Kwang Wu [3], the first of this line, did not start the works for his own mausoleum until he had occupied the throne for twenty-six years, viz. in A. D. 50, and »ordered that not more than two or three khiung of ground should be taken for it" [4]. Nevertheless his grave mound was 323 pu square and 66 Chinese feet high, while the fields subjoined to the place as demesnes covered not less than 20 khiung, 57 meu, 85 pu. The hill for Ming [5], his successor, had about the same size at the base, but was considerably higher, although this monarch too had ordered before his death that the utmost simplicity should be observed in constructing it [6]. A long note contained in chapter 16 of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty (l. 7 *seq.*), compiled from the *Ku kin chu*, a work quoted already on page 57, and from the *Ti wang shi ki* [7] or »Genealogical Register of Emperors and Princes" who have lived from the most remote times, a work by Hwang-fu Mih (page 415), gives the dimensions of all the imperial grave hills of the Later Han dynasty, with the superficies of the demesnes of each mausoleum. The height of the hills varied from 46 to 150 feet, and the breadth at the base from 136 to 380 pu; one mausoleum possessed 74 khiung of demesnes, another not more than five, and all the rest varied from 12 to 31 khiung. Excepting that of

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1 嘉祐八年仁宗崩、英宗立喪服制度、及修奉永昭陵、並用定陵故事。發諸路卒四萬六千七百人治之. Chapter 122, l. 6.

2 History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 12, l. 18.

3 光武.

4 令所制地不過二三頃. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 1, second part, l 19.

5 明.

6 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 2, l. 20.

7 帝王世紀.

Hien [1], the last Emperor, they were all situated in the environs of the then metropolis Loh-yang [2], in the present province of Honan.

In the same note it is stated that many of these mausolea had no »surrounding wall" [3], which evidently means, no outer wall enclosing the parks. Further we are informed that there was a fourfold entrance, inside which stood the temple and the mansions for officers and petty functionaries, which facts warrant the conclusion that these mausolea were built after the pattern of those of the Early Han dynasty. Inside the gates there was a chung khü [4], *i. e.* a post or support with a bell suspended upon it.

The circumjacent grounds annexed to each mausoleum were undoubtedly reserved, either partly or entirely, for the maintenance of the serfs settled on the spot; probably these men obtained a livelihood by tilling them. After the beginning of our era, cities for the defence of the mausolea, it would appear, ceased to be founded. It is indeed on record that Chang [5], the emperor who reigned from A. D. 76—89, »had the intention to erect a »district city for the Yuen mausoleum of (his grandfather) »Kwang Wu, and for the Hien-tsieh mausoleum of (his father) »Ming; but when prince Ts'ang heard of this, he promptly »presented a memorial to the Throne, in which he rebuked the »Emperor .... who followed his advice and gave up his plan" [6]. After this we never again read of anything of the kind, the future monarchs being, it would seem, daunted by the dangers created by such extravagant and cruel pursuits. It may, however, be taken for granted that the mausolea in all subsequent ages were built by forced labour just the same as before, the arbitrary disposal of their subjects never having ceased to be an undisputed right of Chinese sovereigns, a right of the first order in the fundamental principles of public law.

The custom of relegating people to the imperial burial grounds for the defence and protection of the same was not allowed to fall into disuse without an equivalent. Henceforth each mausoleum received a regular garrison of soldiers, and also a restricted number of persons to keep it in good order and watch over it. Already of Ming, the second emperor of the Later Han dynasty, it is stated that, »when

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1 獻. 2 洛陽. 3 周垣. 4 鍾虡.

5 章. 6 帝欲爲原陵顯節陵起縣邑、蒼聞之遽上疏諫...帝從而止. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 72, l. 12 and 13.

» he had his mausoleum made, he ordered that a certain number of » menial servants and soldiers should be assigned to watch over it and » to water and sweep the grounds" [1]. This institution was probably never abolished by any succeeding dynasty. During the reign of the House of T'ang, »it was a general rule to appoint for every » mausoleum a guard, which must settle for good in the place; » and the military chiefs made tours of inspection with the Intend- » ant of the mausoleum" [2]. During the Ming dynasty, »there was » appointed for each mausoleum an Inspector of the Palace of the » Manes, and a garrison" [3]. The now reigning House has each of its mausolea garrisoned by Manchu Bannermen, of whom there are eighty for each of the earlier ancestors, and forty in the burial grounds of their consorts [4].

Before quitting the subject of the mausolea of the Imperial house of Han, we must note that it is formally stated in the books that some of them had a brook, rivulet or tank within their precincts. »When the emperor Chao (86—74 B. C.) started the » works for his burial ground, he ordered that there should merely » be running water on the spot" [5]. And Kwang Wu, »on com- » mencing the works for his mausoleum in the 26th. year of his » reign (A. D. 50), prescribed that the pond on the spot should » merely be cut so as to convert it into running water" [6]. Finally, » Ming, when he began the works for his mausoleum, ordered » that there should only be running water on the spot and that » the crypt of stone should be twelve feet by twenty-five" [7]. The

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1 帝初作壽陵、制令置吏卒數人供給灑掃. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 2, l. 20.

2 凡諸陵皆置留守、領甲士與陵令相知巡. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, chapter 125, l. 15.

3 諸陵各設神宮監并衛. See chapter 133, l. 10, of the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao* 續文獻通考 or »Supplement to the *Wen hien t'ung khao*", compiled and published in the 16th. century by Wang Khi 王圻, and revised and re-edited by imperial command in the Khienlung period (A. D. 1736—1795).

4 *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, abridged edition, chapter 96.

5 昭帝初作壽陵、令流水而已. *San-fu hwang t'u*, chapter 6.

6 二十六年初作壽陵、令陂池栽令流水而已. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 1, second part, l. 18 *seq*

7 明帝初作壽陵、制令流水而已、石槨廣一丈二尺、長二丈五尺. The same work, chapter 2, l. 20.

descriptions given by native books of the burial places of Hoh Lü and his daughter (see pages 396 and 419) and of Shi Hwang (page 400) both show that grave tanks and grave brooks dated from times still earlier. Their object and destination will be expounded and accounted for in Chapter XII.

Of the mausolea of the dynasties following that of Han in an unbroken line on the throne of the Empire no elaborate descriptions occur in Chinese books, neither are the notices and data, which those works supply about such monuments, sufficiently clear and numerous to enable us to draw up a distinct picture of them. But, taking into consideration that a most rigid spirit of conservatism in regard to what has been established by the forefathers of the nation has always reigned supreme in Chinese State religion and in whatever is connected with it, we may be pretty sure that in all material points these mausolea have always closely resembled those of the Han dynasty. Short notes scattered about in the books tend to confirm this. So it is stated that, »when the emperor Kao Tsu »died (A. D. 626), an imperial decree was issued, to the effect »that, as to the style and dimensions of his burial place, the »Ch'ang mausoleum of the Han dynasty should be taken as a »pattern, and that the number of people to be summoned to work »at it should be fixed in a liberal spirit" [1].

No doubt the splendour and dimensions of all these mausolea varied considerably. Some are said to have had no hill at all: such was the case with those of the Mongol Yuen dynasty, if credit may be given to the *Ch'un ming mung yü luh* [2], which says that »the House of Yuen had no grave hills" [3]. The first Supplement to Ma Twan-lin's *Wen hien t'ung khao* reports: »There are no »means of examining into the funeral rites of the Yuen dynasty, »(as documentary evidence fails). In the main they followed the »customs of their own realm (Mongolia). The corpse was dressed in »a coat of sable fur, a cap of leather, leather boots, and covering »for the legs of the same material, and a bowl (a Pâtra or alms »bowl of a Buddhist mendicant monk?) was tied to the waist. In »every case a white-powdered skin (a woman?) was buried along

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[1] 高祖崩有詔山陵制度準漢長陵故事、務從隆厚程限. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 72, l. 4.

[2] 春明夢餘錄.

[3] 元代無陵. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 130.

» with the dead, as also a couple of metal jars and jugs, one saucer, » an eating bowl, a platter, a spoon, and a chopstick. After the » dressing, four belts of gold were tied round the corpse. The » funeral car was of white felt and had curtains of blue and green » nah-shih-shih(?), and the coffin too was covered with such » material. A Mongol female exorcist, dressed in new attire, rode » on horseback at the head of the procession, and one single horse » was led by hand in it, the saddle of which was ornamented » with gold. The box of the car was ornamented with nah-shih- » shih. The horse was called 'the golden steed for the manes'.

» And according to the Book of Plants, Trees and Seeds, the » coffin was made of two logs from a Nan tree. Excavations » of the shape and size of a human body were chiseled out therein, » and the two pieces, fitted together, formed the coffin, in which » the corpse was placed. Having been carried to the grounds of » the park-temples, situated due north, it was buried deep in the » ground, and the place was trampled by the hoofs of ten thousand » horses. Consequently, when the grass had become green, the spot » resembled the plain, and no trace of it could be discovered or » kept in mind any more" [1].

Probably all the mausolea of the T'ang dynasty had a grave mound. They embraced, moreover, buildings and mansions in great numbers, for it is on record that in the fourteenth year of the period Ching yuen (A. D. 798) an imperial decree was issued to erect or rebuild around each of the five imperial mausolea no less than 378 buildings, and around some other mausolea also a great number

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[1] 元之喪禮不可考。大抵因其國俗。殮用貂皮襖、皮帽靴韈、繫腰盆鉢。俱用白粉皮爲之殉、以金壺瓶二、盞一、碗碟匙筯各一。殮訖用黃金爲箍四條以束之。輿車用白氈、青緑納石失爲簾、覆棺亦以納石失爲之。前行用蒙古巫媪一人、衣新衣騎馬、牽馬一疋、以黃金餙鞍。輿籠以納石失。謂之金靈馬.

安草木子云、棺用楠木二片。鑿空其中類人形小大、合爲棺、置遺體其中。送至直北園寢之地深埋之、用萬馬蹴平。候草青方已使同平坡、無復考誌遺跡. *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, chapter 131, l. 9.

of edifices [1]. The same fact is confirmed by the following episode from the life of Wen T'ao [2], a turbulent chieftain who played a prominent part at the time of the troubles, warfare and bloodshed, intervening between the Sung dynasty and the T'ang. » When he » had resided in his dominion for seven years, he broke open such » mausolea of the T'ang dynasty as were situated within the » borders of his territory, and appropriated to his own use all the » gold and valuables stored up there. But the Chao mausoleum » (of the emperor T'ai Tsung) was stronger than the others. From » the road which led to the hill T'ao saw that the buildings and » mansions were grand and beautiful, both in regard to architecture » and size, but that they did not differ in style from human » dwellings. Inside there was a central temple; couches of stone » were arranged in rows in the side rooms on the east and west, » and upon those couches stood receptacles of the same material, » in which were iron boxes entirely filled with antique cards and » manuscripts, bells, royal handwritings, paper and ink, all looking » quite new. T'ao took everything away, and so these relics found » their way among the people" [3].

Sacrificial temples are mentioned often enough in connection with the imperial mausolea both of mediæval and modern times to justify the conclusion that they were hardly ever wanting. That they were extremely beautiful in many cases is sufficiently proved by the following description of such an edifice, which stood on an imperial mausoleum of the fifth century, belonging to the Wei dynasty: »The Yung-ku mausoleum is situate on the peak of » mount Fang. The mound of the Imperial grandmother Wen- » ming is there also, and to the east of it is seen that of the » emperor Kao Tsu. South of these two stands the Yung-ku hall. » The rows of embrasures in the corners of the wall which surrounds » this building, as also the steps which lead up to the terrace,

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1 *Wen hien t'ung khao*, chapter 125, l. 27.

2 溫韜.

3 韜在鎭七年、唐諸陵在其境內者悉發掘之、取其所藏金寶。而昭陵最固。韜從埏道下見宮室制度閎麗、不異人間。中爲正寢、東西廂列石牀、牀上石函、中爲鐵匣、悉藏前世圖書鍾王筆迹紙墨如新。韜悉取之、遂傳人間. New History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 40, l. 11.

» further the railings and the doors, the lintels, the walls, the » rafters of the roof and the tiles, are all of veined stone. In front » of the eaves there are four decorated pillars of black stone obtained » from the valleys on the eight sides of Loh-yang. Figures are » carved on them, the sunken parts are embossed with gilding and » silver, and the clouds and pheasants which are interspersed look » as if they had been embroidered. Inside and outside the hall, on » each of the four sides, a couple of stone instruments are fixed for » the support of curtains; here is also a screen of blue stone with » edges of veined stone, and the sunken parts of this screen are » carved with scenes displaying instances of loyalty and filial sub- » mission. On a board over the entrance of the hall is carved the » name Ching-shun (The Chaste and Obedient), and in front of the » temple there are inscribed slabs and animals, cut out of stone. » Similar stone tablets are also arranged to the right and left of » the grave mound, and the rows of cypress trees on the four sides » allure the birds and shade it from the sun" [1].

That as late as the Sung dynasty the hills over the imperial mausolea had a very spacious tunnel or subterranean entrance leading into the crypt, is proved by the books of history, which inform us that in A. D. 964, »while the Ngan mausoleum was » being built, the tunnel fell in, crushing to death two hundred » serfs and soldiers" [2]. We note in conclusion that it seems to have been customary already at an early date to erect large figures of animals and men, cut out of stone, in the imperial burial grounds; but this curious usage will be specially discussed in Chapter IX.

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[1] 永固陵在方山巔。巔上有文明太皇太后陵、陵之東有高祖陵。二陵之南有永固堂。堂之四周隅雉列榭階、欄檻及扉戶梁壁椽瓦悉文石也。檐前四柱采洛陽八風谷黑石爲之。雕鏤、隱起以金銀、間雲雉有若錦焉。堂之內外四側結兩石扶帳、青石屏風以文石爲緣、並隱起忠孝之容。題刻貞順之名、廟前鐫石爲碑獸。碑石在冢左右、列柏四周迷禽暗日. The General Memoirs of Shansi, 山西通志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 130.

[2] 治安陵隧壞、役兵壓死者二百人. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 1, l. 16.

The information which the native literature affords about the numerous magnificent mausolea of the dynasties which occupied the throne of China in unbroken sequence down to the House of Ming, is of so little interest that we will not weary the reader with it. It would be in vain to hope that foreign exploration on the spots where these mausolea once embellished the country could do anything to supply what is lacking in the books. Dynasty after dynasty has been overthrown and annihilated, and, judging by the numerous cases on record in Chinese history, such revolutions were always followed by long periods of bloodshed and war, bands of insurgents arising on all sides to lay waste the country. In times of anarchy the imperial mausolea scarcely ever escaped destruction. They were broken open, plundered of the treasures hoarded up therein, and the entombed corpses were mangled and destroyed, with the object of bringing ruin on the imperial descendant seated on the tottering throne. A long time generally elapsed before order could be restored again. So the people had free scope to gradually demolish the temples, mansions, walls and other buildings on the mausoleum grounds, in order to appropriate the precious building materials; no fear of punishment now withheld them from cutting down the trees for timber and fuel, or from converting the park-grounds into fields for their own use. In a few score years nothing remained of the whole monument but heaps of useless rubbish, the basements of the buildings, and a bare hillock of earth, which it had not been found worth while demolishing.

The last in the series of imperial burial places destroyed in this way, is that of T'ai Tsu [1], founder of the Ming dynasty, which is situated in the close vicinity of Nanking. It is almost entirely in ruins and irreparably lost for ever. Hence there is reason for satisfaction that those of the other emperors of the same family, who were the last monarchs of Chinese blood that wielded the sceptre over the Empire, have escaped the destroying hand of man and the tooth of time. They occupy a first place among China's most interesting relics of bygone ages. Being evidently built after the plan followed for the mausolea of the ancient House of Han, and the same being undoubtedly the case with those of all the intermediate dynasties, they enable us to form a fair idea of the Chinese imperial mausolea of all periods. On this

[1] 太祖.

account their great value for science is incontestable. An elaborate description, drawn up from a personal investigation on the spot, will be found in Chapter XIV of this Volume.

It now remains for us to review the burial places of other persons of imperial blood, and those of the grandees of the Empire.

That grave mounds of respectable dimensions must have been pretty common already in pre-Christian times, is evident from the fact that most of the terms used in the books of those ages to denote burial places also signify a height or eminence. In the first place we have the character 冢, ch'ung, which occurs frequently in this sense in the *Shu king*, and in this book also means »large". The ancient *'Rh ya* moreover says that »it signifies a mountain-top"[1], which is its meaning also in the *Shi king*. »A ch'ung is a high grave mound"[2], says the *Shwoh wen*. Further there is the word khiu 丘. In the *Shu king*, the *Shi king* and other ancient works this word generally occurs in the sense of a hillock or knoll, and the *'Rh ya* says: »It means an eminence not constructed by the hand of man"[3]. Other ancient terms, which at the same time denote both an eminence and a grave, are leu 墶, lung 壟, and especially ling 陵, which term, as we have seen on page 423, was used during the Han dynasty to denote more especially the grave hill of an emperor. It does not clearly appear from the books whether it was applied to the graves of monarchs already during the Cheu dynasty. In both the *Shu king* and the *Shi king* it is used exclusively in the sense of a mountain or hill, and the *'Rh ya* says: »A large hill is called ling"[4].

The passage in the *Cheu li*, reproduced on page 421, shows that during the Cheu dynasty sovereigns and persons of royal descent were generally buried together in one plot of ground, and that their tombs were laid out after a regular plan. Considering that these tombs were often very large, such family grave-yards must undoubtedly have covered an enormous area. Queens were probably buried there also, it having always been a fundamental principle of Chinese social life that a woman, on marrying, becomes in the fullest sense a member of the family into which she is received, breaking off the ties which bind her to the family in

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1 山頂冢. Chapter 11.
2 冢高墳也.
3 非人爲之丘. Chapter 10.
4 大阜曰陵. Chapter 9.

which she was born. Documentary evidence supports the fact of such burials. It is stated in the Historical Records that »king Chao »Siang (of Ts'in) having died in the autumn of the fifty-sixth year »of his reign (251 B. C.), his son, king Hiao Wen, ascending the »throne, paid honour to T'ang Pah-tszĕ as Queen Dowager, and »placed her in the same grave with the deceased king"[1]. This case is probably not a single exception in ancient history.

During the Han dynasty and in subsequent ages, burying empresses and imperial concubines in the mausolea of their consorts was, according to the Standard Histories, very general. It is usually denoted in those works by the term hoh tsang[2], »to bury unitedly", or »to unite in the same grave". This expression does not necessarily imply that the corpses were deposited in the same crypt, but means a burial in the same mausoleum ground, or inside the same hill. Thus the *San-fu hwang t'u* states that Lady Li, the favourite concubine of Wu of the Han dynasty, »had her grave, »which measured fifty pu from east to west, and sixty from north »to south with a height of eight chang, to the north-west of the »Meu mausoleum (of her consort), at a distance of one mile"[3].

Also during the T'ang dynasty the ladies of the imperial seraglio were, in many cases, buried in their consorts' mausoleum. Moreover, it was an established custom during that epoch to bury princes and princesses of imperial blood and distinguished public servants near the imperial mausoleum, the civil to the left, and the military to the right. This was officially styled p'ei tsang[4] or fu tsang[5], »to bury together". Several persons on whom this honour was conferred are enumerated by Ma Twan-lin in his *Wen hien t'ung khao*[6]; they were especially numerous in the time of T'ai Tsung[7], the second sovereign of the dynasty. The same work contains also T'ai Tsung's rescript of the year 644, in which the rules for this institution were laid down, and we are therein told that it had been customary already

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1 五十六年秋昭襄王卒、子孝文王立、尊唐八子爲唐太后、而合其葬於先王. Chapter 5, l. 32.

2 合葬.

3 李夫人墓東西五十步、南北六十步、高八丈、在茂陵西北一里. Chapter 6.

4 陪葬.

5 祔葬.

6 Chapter 125, l. 15 *sqq.*

7 太宗.

during the Han dynasty to bury high ministers in the mausolea of their sovereigns; however, there is no such statement known to us in any of the books of those times. Still if this be the truth, then we may assume that the practice was inherited by the Han dynasty from the dynasty of Cheu, which, as stated above, had adopted the custom in so far as grandees of royal lineage were concerned.

Under the Sung dynasty it was the usual thing to bury empresses and other inmates of the harem in the imperial mausolea. Biographical notices about some of these women, inserted in the Standard Histories of that epoch, say that the honour of being entombed underneath the emperor's grave hill was specially reserved for the principal consort or empress proper, and for her among the secondary wives who had given birth to the successor to the Throne. Other consorts were interred somewhere near the hill, some even in the neighbourhood of the mounds of former monarchs of the dynasty, a great many probably elsewhere. If thus entombed apart, their mausolea were called yuen ling[1] or »park-hills", in distinction to those of the emperors themselves, which were styled shan ling[2], »hill-mounds". Judging from certain figures given in the short descriptions of some of these female burial places in chapter 123 of the History of the Sung Dynasty, they were of a large size; for the rest these descriptions are highly uninteresting, as they do not even give us a superficial idea of those graves. The mausolea of imperial princes were styled yuen miao[3], »park-temples". We note by the way that all the above terms are employed by the present dynasty, which denotes, moreover, the mausolea of imperial concubines, as well as those of princes of imperial lineage, by the term yuen ts'in[4], *i. e.* »park-temples" or, more literally, »back chambers situated in the park-grounds".

Burying empresses in the tombs of their consorts was also an established custom with the Kin dynasty, instances thereof being regularly mentioned in the Statute Histories of that House. The state of matters in this respect during the Yuen dynasty appears sufficiently by what has been said on page 438; more particulars we have not found in our researches. During the reign of the House of Ming, some two or three consorts were entombed in grave hills of emperors. The earlier sovereigns of this dynasty were probably accompanied into the tomb by all or nearly all their concubines;

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[1] 園陵. [2] 山陵. [3] 園廟. [4] 園寢.

whether they were first immolated, or simply shut up alive in the imperial crypt, is not stated. And when about the middle of the fifteenth century this savage custom was discontinued by Ying Tsung [1], it became customary to bury most of them either in the T'ien-sheu shan [2], a mountain range which now girds the back of thirteen imperial mausolea of the dynasty, or in another range, called Kin shan [3], in which some empresses and concubines of the earlier monarchs of the same House had been entombed; a few were buried in other places. Thenceforth those who had been married in common to one emperor were, as a rule, entombed in one and the same burial ground containing only one sacrificial temple for them all, and each of such plots of ground contained nine graves, corresponding to the number of concubines whom, since 1551, it had become the official rule for the emperors to keep in their harems [4].

To mention now such scions of the Imperial family and high officers who did not share the honour of being committed to the earth in close vicinity to their deceased sovereign. We need hardly say that, throughout all ages, by far the greatest number of those grandees were buried in the provinces where they had spent their lives as feudal lords or in the service of the State. Documentary evidence such as would enable us to judge about the manner in which their grave grounds were generally laid out, is very scarce. Prior to the Han dynasty nothing is recorded, but of the mausolea erected during the reign of this family some data may be found. That of Hwoh Kwang (see page 411) was circumvallated and had a sacrificial temple within its precincts. The *Shui king chu* [5] or »Water Classic Commentary", a large collection of annotations by several authorities upon the *Shui king* [6] or »Water Classic", which describes the water courses in China and was published probably during the Han dynasty, says: »Winding its »way in a south-eastern direction, the river Sui (in the present »Honan province) flows by the grave of Chang Poh-nga, during »the Han dynasty a governor of Hiung-lung. Around the four sides »of the grave ground has been built a wall of accumulated stones, »towards which the banks of an inlet of the river slope down, and

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1 英宗. 2 天壽山. 3 金山.

4 The above information is drawn from the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*, chapt. 133.

5 水經註. 6 水經.

» which runs along the north-western side of the waters of the » Sui. The outer gate consists of two paved entrances, constructed » close to each other like a pair, and before these entrances » there are animals in stone; a sacrificial temple of the same » material stands in front of the mound. On this spot three stone » tablets are erected in a row, and one of these bears the following » inscription: 'Teh, who bore the title Poh-nga, a native of Mih, » in Honan'. Two human images of stone flank these tablets, and » furthermore there are several stone pillars, as well as animals » in stone. In former times, the waters of the Sui were conducted » by the south side into the enclosed grounds, where they flowed » into a tank and into a pond, the latter being to the N. N. E. » Both the tank and the pond were ornamented with toads vomiting » forth water, which water flowed off into a stone moat. On the » south of the tank was constructed a storied building of stone, » and in front of the stone temple there were again some animals, » ranged on both sides; but in the time of Wuh sié (?) they had » fallen into ruin and had sustained so much injury as to have » almost disappeared" [1].

Another description of a mausoleum of a high grandee of the Han dynasty, given in the same work, runs as follows: »The waters » of P'eng (in Honan) flow by the north-west of that place along the » eastern side of the tomb of Yin Lien, during the Han dynasty a » chief of Ngan-yih. On the west of the mound there is a stone » temple and in front of this temple a gate with two paved thorough- » fares; a tablet of stone is erected on the east side of these, and » to the south there are two lions facing each other, while still » further southward there are two pillars of stone, and to the » south-west of the pillars two stone sheep, erected in the fourth

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[1] 綏水東南流逕漢宏農太守張伯雅墓。塋域四周壘石爲垣、隅阿相降、列於綏水之陰庚。門表二石闕夾對、石獸於闕下、冢前有石廟。列植三碑、碑云、德字伯雅河南密人也。碑側樹兩石人、有數石柱及諸石獸矣。舊引綏水南入塋域而爲池沼、沼在丑地。皆蟾蠩吐水、石隍承溜。池之南又建石樓、石廟前又翼列諸獸、但物謝時淪凋毀殆盡. Chapter 22, l. 10.

» year of the period Chung p'ing (A. D. 187)" [1]. These details, though somewhat vague, when placed side by side with those supplied by the foregoing extract from the same work suffice to show that both mausolea were laid out in the same style. Recapitulating: — an avenue with stone animals, stone images of men and stone pillars on each side, led to a gate which had two openings, overhung, perhaps, by one roof, just as is the case in so many Chinese gates of the present day. This gate opened upon a square court-yard, surrounded on all sides by a wall and having, just opposite the double gate, a temple, the road towards which was likewise ornamented with animals in stone. The grave mound was probably behind the temple. Finally there were, within the walled square, tanks or moats of running water. Now the reader will clearly perceive that such grave grounds of grandees of the Han dynasty were miniature copies of the then imperial mausolea which we have endeavoured to depict in these pages. In Chapter XIV it will be shown that still at the present day the tombs of magnates are laid out in a style corresponding almost exactly with the above description, so that we have reason to suppose that the same has been the case in all ages.

The extract reproduced on page 410 relating to the obsequies of Hwoh Kwang shows that there are instances of mausolea of grandees having been constructed, during the Han dynasty, by statute labour, the people being relegated to the spot by imperial decree, just as in the case of a mausoleum of an emperor. The same extract teaches us also that a certain number of families were officially appointed to dwell on or around such grounds and take constant care of them, and it further says explicitly that »this was in accordance with the usage of former times". Indeed, similar measures had been taken already by the very first emperor of the Han dynasty with regard to the graves of feudal princes of former epochs, history stating that, »in the twelfth year » of his reign (195 B. C.) this monarch decreed that, whereas the » emperors of the Ts'in dynasty, and king Yin of the state of Ch'u,

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[1] 彭水逕其西北漢安邑長尹儉墓東。冢西有石廟、廟前有兩石闕、闕東有碑、闕南有二獅子相對、南有石碣二柱、石柱西南有兩石羊、中平四年立. Chapter 31, l. 4.

» king Ngan Li of Wei, king Min of Ts'i, and king Tao Siang of Chao [1] » had no posterity at all, twenty families were assigned to keep watch » over the grave of the emperor Shi Hwang of Ts'in, ten families to » each of the said graves of the states of Ch'u, Wei and Ts'i, and » five to that of Chao, as also to that of Wang-ki, the son of the feudal » lord of Wei. These people were ordered to look after these mounds » regularly, and were not charged with any other occupation" [2].

Establishing people upon graves of persons of imperial lineage and grandees of the Empire no doubt took place so frequently in the centuries between the Han dynasty and that of Ming, that in the end it became an established institution of the State. In fact, under the Ming dynasty it was an officially recognized prerogative of the scions of the Imperial family and of the governing classes to have a certain number of families placed upon their graves, which number varied in accordance with the rank of the defunct. The Collective Statutes of the Great House of Ming say that »in the third year of the Hung wu period (A. D. » 1370) the number of families guarding the graves of meritorious servants of the State was fixed in such wise as in each » case to be in proportion to the grade of nobility conferred upon » the person concerned, or to his official rank" [3]. The same rule has been adopted by the present dynasty, which prescribes in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* that »for the kung, heu, and poh, or » members of the three highest classes of nobility, there shall be » appointed four families to guard their graves, for officers of the » first and second rank two, for those of the third, fourth and » fifth rank one family, and for those of the sixth and seventh » rank two persons only" [4].

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1 All these princes died in the third century before our era.

2 十二年詔曰、秦皇帝、楚隱王、魏安釐王、齊愍王、趙悼襄王皆絶亡後、其與秦始皇帝守冢二十家、楚魏齊各十家、趙及魏公子亡忌各五家。令視其冢、復亡與宅事. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 1, second part, l. 20. Also the Historical Records, chapter 8, l. 35.

3 洪武三年定功臣守墓人戶各以封爵官品之差等給之. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 133.

4 公侯伯置守塋四戶、二品以上守塋二戶、五品以上守塋一戶、六品以下守塋二人. Chapter 52, l. 11.

At the outset of this chapter we have set forth that, from ancient times, the dimensions of graves, their style, and the expense laid out upon them must have kept regular pace with the social standing and the wealth of the occupant. That such was a matter of fact under the Cheu dynasty, at least in regard to the grave mounds, we have proved from documentary evidence on page 420; and the Han dynasty simply changed this custom into a law. Ching Khang-ch'ing, who, as the reader knows, lived under that House, states that, »according to the laws of the Han dynasty, the grave mounds »of Imperial princes were four chang high, while those of the »princes inside the Mountain passes and of the nobles still lower »in rank down to the people all varied in size" [1].

Succeeding dynasties enacted similar rescripts, which extended even to the superficies of the grave grounds. Thus, under the House of T'ang it was decreed that the area of ground for officers of the first rank, which had been theretofore ninety pu, should be reduced to seventy, and the height of the mound from eighteen feet to sixteen. For officers of the second rank the size was reduced from eighty to sixty pu, and the height from sixteen to fourteen feet, and so on, in a regular sequence, down to the sixth rank, whose graves and the graves of those of lower rank might be of the size of fifteen pu and have mounds of seven feet only. Finally the same decree allowed the common people, about whose graves no written prescriptions had hitherto existed, to have graves of seven pu and mounds of four feet [2].

The Ming dynasty manifested still greater anxiety in regulating by minute rescripts not only the size of the burial grounds of grandees, but also the measurements of the various parts of their tombs. As these regulations afford some useful data from which we may learn what sort of things and structures were to be found within such grounds, a short digest of them will not be out of place here. In 1410 it was enacted that the mausoleum of an Imperial prince of the first rank [3] might have a sacrificial hall [4] of seven apartments, 19½ Chinese feet broad, 43½ long,

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1 漢律列侯墳高四丈、關內侯以下至庶人各有差. Khienlung edition of the *Cheu li*, chapter 21, l. 45.

2 *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 禮儀, chapter 56.

3 親王.

4 享堂.

and 29 high. It might also have an inner gate and an outer gate, each with three openings or thoroughfares; the length of these structures was fixed respectively at about 45 and 43 feet, the depth and height of both at $25^1/_2$ and 21 feet respectively. Further there might be a kitchen for the preparation of sacrificial viands, having five apartments and being $67^1/_2$ feet broad, $11^1/_2$ deep and 16 high; — a butchery for the sacrificial victims with three apartments, which building might be 41 feet broad and as deep and high as the kitchen; — one furnace for burning silks, 7 feet square and 11 high; — one pavilion for storing up the sacrificial utensils, 8 feet square and 11 high; — finally, a pavilion containing an inscribed stone, which building was allowed to be 21 feet square, and $34^1/_2$ high. The stone wall encircling the ground might be 290 chang long, and it was lawful to erect outside this wall buildings for sacrificial proceedings, and other apartments, to the number of twelve [1]. To judge from corresponding mausolea of the present dynasty, which has adopted the institutions of the House of Ming almost unaltered, the mound, the temple, the inner gate and the outer gate were situated in the same order in which they are here mentioned, in a line which formed the central axis of the walled square, the outer gate being exactly in the middle of the front wall. The butchery, the kitchen etc. flanked, no doubt, the court-yard in front of the temple, but the pavilion with the inscribed stone stood in the open yard outside, straight in front of the outer gate. In 1448 the size of the mausoleum grounds was, in case of Princes of the first rank, fixed by Imperial rescript at 50 meu, and the number of apartments at 15; for Princes of the second rank [2] these figures were fixed respectively at 30 and 9, and for their sons at 20 and 3, while for the daughters of both ranks of Princes they were set down at 10 and 3 [3].

In such a mausoleum the consort of the grandee for whom it was erected was also buried, and the same sacrificial temple had to serve for them both [4]. The male issue of Princes of imperial lineage were buried on the right and left of the grave of their first ancestor in regular order of descent; but a daughter of

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1 *Ta Ming hwui tien; ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 坤輿, chapt. 133.

2 郡王.

3 *Op. et loc cit.*

4 Regulations of A. D. 1458. *Op. et loc. cit.*

such a Prince was entombed in the burial ground of the first ancestor of the family into which she had married[1]. Consequently, the ancient system of having family grave-yards, which can be proved by documentary evidence to have been already in vogue among the royal families of the Cheu dynasty (see page 421), was officially adopted by the dynasty of Ming. The House of Ts'ing has followed the same custom, as will appear hereafter, in Chapter XIV.

Not only for Princes of imperial lineage, their consorts and descendants, but also for persons in possession of a rank of hereditary nobility, or on whom an official dignity had been bestowed, regulations were laid down by the Ming dynasty as to the style and dimensions of their graves. For the first and second rank of nobility (k u n g and h e u) the circumference of the burial ground was fixed at a hundred p u, the height of the mound at two c h a n g, and that of the wall at one c h a n g[2]. Rules for the burial places of the mandarinate were made already in the first year of the reign of the first monarch of this dynasty (1368), which is a proof that these rules were considered of so high importance to the State that their enactment could brook no delay. The following table contains a survey of them[3]:

	Distance from the centre to the borders of the grave ground.	Height of the mound.	Number of animals in stone.	Inscribed stone tablet, etc.
Mandarins of the 1st. rank.	90 p u.	18 feet.	6	Erected on a stone tortoise, and the topmost part carved with a hornless dragon.
Of the 2nd. rank.	80 »	14 »	6	id.
» 3rd. »	70 »	12 »	6	id.
» 4th. »	60 »	8 »	4	id.
» 5th. »	50 »	8 »	4	id.
» 6th. »	40 »	6 »	None.	Pillar with a square base and round top.
» 7th. »	30 »	6 »	id.	id.
The people.	9 »	—	id.	Inscribed stone inside the grave pit.

1 Rescript of 1492. *Op. et loc. cit.*

2 Regulations of 1396. *Op. et cap. cit.*

3 *Op. et cap. cit.*

Twenty-nine years afterwards some of the figures above were slightly modified by the same monarch, and the dimensions of the stone tablets, their top-pieces and pedestals minutely circumscribed for each class of officers; but it is not necessary to reproduce such figures here. Suffice it to give the rescripts which the same edict contained with regard to the stone images, pillars and tablet, that noblemen and officers were entitled to have over their graves [1]:

	Stone images, etc.	Stone tablet.
Nobles of the first and second rank	Two men, two horses, two tigers, two sheep and two pillars.	On the back of a stone tortoise, and the topmost part carved with a hornless dragon.
Mandarins of the 1st. rank	id.	id.
» » » 2nd. »	id.	On the back of a stone tortoise, and the topmost part carved with a unicorn.
» » » 3rd. »	Two horses, two tigers, two sheep and two pillars.	On the back of a tortoise, and the topmost part carved with the nondescript animals t'ien-luh and pih-sié.
» » » 4th. »	Two horses, two tigers and two pillars.	On a square pedestal and with a round top.
» » » 5th. »	Two horses, two sheep and two pillars.	id.
» » » 6th. »	None.	id.
» » » 7th. »	id.	id.

The above institutions of the Ming dynasty were adopted almost unaltered by the present reigning House, which has succeeded it on the throne. A very few figures only were slightly modified, too slightly, however, to deserve notice. Such of the rescripts of the House of Ming as have been summarized in the first of the above tables are to be found literally in the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* [2], and those of the second in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* [3]. This last named codex [4], as also the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* [5], contains moreover some regulations for the graves of Princes and Princesses of imperial lineage, which we here append in a tabular form:

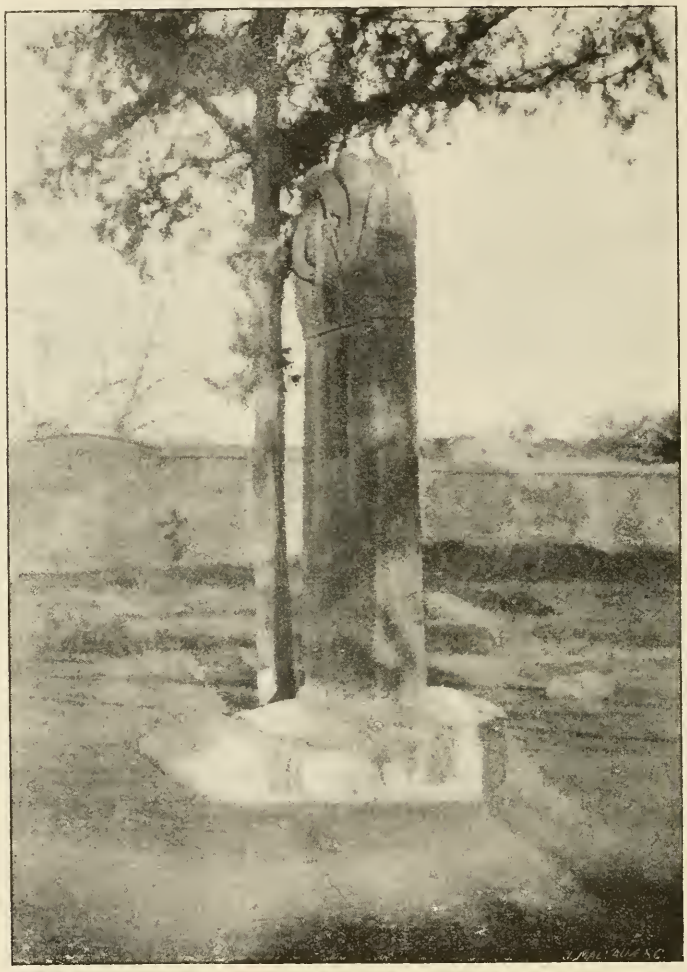
1 *Op. et loc. cit.*
2 Chapter 17, l. 14.
3 Chapter 52, l. 11.
4 In chapter 51, l. 5.
5 Chapter 76 of the abridged edition.

Stone Animals along the Approach to the Imperial Mausolea
of the Ming Dynasty.

		Length of the wall surrounding the burial ground; in chang of ten Chinese feet.	Gate in the front or the south side.	Number of apartments in the sacrificial temple.	Number of families charged with the care of the grave.
Imperial prince of the 1st. order, 親王.		100.	Three openings. Painted and gilded. Covered with green glazed tiles.	5.	10.
Son of an Imperial prince of the 1st. order, 世子, and Imperial prince of the 2nd. order 郡王.	Imperial princess of the 1st. rank (daughter of an Empress Consort), 固倫公主.	80.	Three openings. Painted with five colours. Covered with green glazed tiles.	3.	8.
Imperial prince of the 3rd. order, 貝勒, and id. of the 4th. order, 貝子.	Imperial princess of the 2nd. rank (daughter of an inferior Consort), 和碩公主, and daughter of an Imperial prince of the 1st. order, 郡主.	70.	One opening. Plain red. Covered with tubelar tiles.	3.	6.
Imperial princes of the 5th., 6th., 7th. and 8th. order, 國公.	daughter of an Imperial prince of the 2nd., 3rd. and 4th. order, 縣主、郡君 and 縣君.	60.	id.	3.	4.
Imperial prince of the 9th. order, 鎮國將軍, and id. of the 10th. order, 輔國將軍.		35.	id.	—	2.
Imperial prince of the 11th. order, 奉國將軍, and id. of the 12th. order, 奉恩將軍.		30.	id.	—	—

The conclusion at which one naturally arrives after studying the facts compiled on the preceding pages of this chapter is, that the

Fig. 25.



Stone Tablet on the Grave of Confucius.

Chinese, in raising grave mounds and building tombs for their dead of rank and birth, have from high antiquity followed the same line of conduct as the oldest nations of Europe and many other ancient peoples. The tumuli of prehistoric times, of which, as Sir John Lubbock says [1], the remains may be seen on nearly every hill in England and which are found everywhere in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains, and in Asia from the

1 Prehistoric Times, chapter V.

borders of Russia unto the Pacific, which are counted in America by thousands and tens of thousands, and in Egypt are still admired in the gigantic pyramids, prove by the immense amount of labour bestowed upon them, that they can only have been erected in honour of chieftains and grandees. Achilles erected a tumulus of more than a hundred feet in diameter over the remains of his friend Patrocles. The hill supposed by Xenephon to contain the body of Alyattes, father of Crœsus, king of Lydia, was built of earth and stones, and was more than a quarter of a league in circumference. Alexander the Great had a tumulus erected over the corpse of his friend Hephæstion, at a cost of 1200 talents, a sum equivalent to no less than £ 232,500 sterling [1]. The ancient Romans had burial grounds covering an acre of 28,000 square feet, and even larger ones, around which parks and gardens were laid out; the costs, which are in many cases engraved on the monument, sometimes amounted to from 200 to 100,000 sesterces.

In the second part of this Book we have shown that, in ancient China, numerous attempts were made at calling back the dead to life and preserving their bodies against decay, in order that these latter might at any time be fit to receive the soul again and to revive in consequence thereof. It has also been pointed out that such attempts were made with special energy in the case of the great ones of the earth, whose lives were more valuable than those of the common people, and that, as a direct consequence, the number of the coffins and the thickness of the boards were increased in proportion to the position and rank of the deceased to be enclosed therein. Official rules regulating these affairs were laid down as early as the Cheu dynasty (comp. page 285). If now we take into consideration that, at the same epoch, the dimensions of the grave mounds were likewise regulated in such wise as to bring them into direct proportion with the rank of the dead (see page 420), we come to the conclusion that, just as the coffins, so those mounds were intended to preserve the corpses from the reach of destructive influences. Indeed, by preserving the body well by covering it with a big pile of earth, great service was rendered to the soul, which in this way remained in constant possession of a natural support, by clinging to which it escaped evaporation and annihilation (see p. 348). And the more illustrious and powerful a dead man had been during his life, the greater the desire of his

1 Ten Years' Diggings in the Celtic and Saxon Gravehills, *ap.* Lubbock, *op. et cap. cit.*

offspring and subjects to serve and propitiate him in this way; for since times immemorial the dead have ever been looked up to as natural protectors and patron divinities.

Such being the considerations which regulated the conduct of the ancient Chinese with regard to the grave mounds, we need seek for no further explanation as to the covering of the tumulus of king Ngai with iron or some iron-like substance, which rendered it almost impossible to force a way into the crypt (p. 397). A similar instance of a grave having been rendered inaccessible by means of some solid material is recorded in the »Memoirs of the District of Pʿu-tʿien" [1], a part of the province of Fuhkien. »Not long ago, a »farmer, while ploughing a field in front of the Buddhist temple »of the Lung mountain, discovered a cave which contained a great »many objects of gold and jade, pots, cups, and such like things, »which were all carried off by the people. In the end, when there »was nothing more worth taking, the villagers began to accompany »one another to the tomb, to inspect it more closely. As they »knocked against the back part with their hoes and axes, a hollow »sound was heard; but the spot was perfectly hard, solid and »immovable, and it was supposed that molten copper or iron must »have been used to form such a covering" [2].

We can hardly doubt that the custom of hiding the possessions of the dead along with them in the tombs has been as much the cause of the erection of large grave mounds as all other considerations put together. An immense mound of earth rendered the disinterring of such treasures difficult, nay, almost impossible. Hence it is quite natural that under the dynasties of Tsʿin and Han, when, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, the said custom took vast proportions in the case of emperors and magnates, the imperial grave hills increased to a size bordering on the gigantic. But, for the protection of the treasures and the sacred corpse against rapacious attacks much more was done in those times.

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[1] 莆田縣志.

[2] 近時囊山寺前耕者得一穴、其間金玉之器鼎彝之屬甚多、人皆竊去。最後既虛其墓、鄉人始相率而就觀之。其後壁擊以鋤斧、鏗鏗然有聲、但堅固不可動、恐是銅鐵所灌. *Ku kin tʿu shu tsih chʿing*, sect. 坤輿, chapter 140.

We have stated that ramparts or walls were constructed around such mausolea, and that these monuments were further strengthened by means of balistic engines contrived on the gates, and by hidden fire; in a word, they were converted into real strongholds and, moreover, permanently garrisoned by troops and placed under the protection of a city built near the spot for this purpose.

Whereas people, in throwing up big grave hills, were pursuing the double purpose of glorifying the memory of the dead and of protecting their bodies and manes from destruction, it is also quite evident that in this same Empire of the Midst, where devotion to parents has ever been the first duty of a child, it has always been considered a mark of a high sense of duty to raise with one's own hands a grave mound as big and high as possible over the remains of a father or mother. Instances of children who have fulfilled their duty in this wise abound in the historical books from the Han dynasty downwards, and a selection of such cases, arranged in chronological order, will be found on pages 464 *et sqq.* Here we quote only a few of such examples as reveal better than any others the true spirit dominating the custom, and the principle which lies at the bottom of it.

»Hü Tszĕ, bearing the title of Ki-i, was a native of Wu-ning »in Tung-yang (province of Honan). Both his parents having died »suddenly, he made them a grave on the eastern mountain of the »district, carrying the earth himself to the spot and declining all »assistance offered him by the villagers. Some persons, moved with »compassion on beholding his weakness, grief and suffering, asked »his permission to lend him a helping hand, and Tszĕ did not »object to their assisting him during the daytime; *but in the night »he demolished their work again*"[1]. This case occurred in the third century. In the History of the Sung Dynasty we read of Hoh Yin[2]: »Before he had reached his native place, Ts'iao (his father, »who was travelling with him) died. He then made a tomb for »him by carrying the earth himself in baskets to the spot, and »when other people would help him, he made them pile up earth

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[1] 許孜、字季義、東陽吳寧人也。俄而二親沒、建墓於縣之東山、躬自負土、不受鄉人之助。或愍孜羸憊苦、求來助、孜晝則不逆、夜便除之. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 88, l. 7.

[2] 郝寘.

» upon the mound; *but no sooner were they gone, than he scattered* » *the earth again*[1]. When Li Pi's mother died, he gave up his » fields to his younger brother Kien and settled in a shed upon » the grave, howling and weeping there by day and by night, and » bearing the earth to the spot till the mound had reached a » height of over a chang. The original graves of the preceding » generation of his ancestors (paternal grandparents), and those of » the male and female elders of his tribe, he built up with the » observance of the proper ceremonial in all its details; and ere » three years had elapsed, he had constructed in this manner six » tumuli, all over a chang in height"[2].

» Ch'en Suen, a native of Liang in Jü-cheu (the present pro- » vince of Honan), having lost his mother, did not close the entrance » to her tomb for thirty-six months after her burial. In the daytime » he bore the earth to the spot, and during the night he slept » with his arms around the coffin; the grave mound he made a » hundred feet broad"[3]. Finally to quote a couple of instances from the History of the Yuen Dynasty: »Khung Ts'uen, a native of » Luh-yih in Poh-cheu (N. W. of Nganhwui province) gave his father, » who was taken ill, some flesh to eat, which he had cut from his » own buttocks, thereby curing him. Afterwards, when his father » died, the dutiful son dwelt on the left side of the grave in a » shed and carried the earth for the tumulus himself, sixty piculs » every day. In three years' time he had raised the mound, which » then covered a superficies of one meu to over three chang » high. And Ch'en Khih-'rh, a man of Hia-yih in Kwei-teh (pro- » vince of Honan), was plunged into the deepest sorrow by the » death of his mother when he was nine years old. Carrying the » earth to the spot himself, he raised the tumulus to a height of » one chang and a breadth of sixteen pu, and when people out

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[1] 未至鄉里而樵卒。自畚土造冢、人有助之者使實土冢上、去則隨撒之. Chapter 456, l. 19.

[2] 李玭母卒、讓田與其弟堅、遂廬於葬所、晝夜號泣、負土築墳高丈餘。又以二代及諸族父母櫬葬者盡禮築之、凡三年成六墳皆丈餘. Chapter 456, l. 11.

[3] 沈宣、汝州梁人、母亡既葬不塞墓門三十有六月。晝負土、夜抱棺而臥、爲墳廣百尺. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 20.

» of sympathy for his youth wished to help him, he weepingly » made reverences to them, but declined their assistance" [1].

We do not know whether cases like the above still occur at the present day. At any rate it may be taken for granted that the custom, mentioned on page 212, of dropping some earth out of the lap of one's garment upon the coffin of a parent just lowered into the burial pit, owes its origin to the ancient conception that it is highly becoming in children to erect a grave mound themselves over the remains of a father or mother. The mountaineers of Scotland say, by way of compliment: 'Curri mi clach er do cuirn', » I will add a stone to the heap that will cover your tomb" [2].

The patriarchal theory which has ever borne supreme sway in the Chinese Empire, although it regulates in the first place the relations between parents and children, also teaches that the same hiao or absolute subjection and devotion which every son of man owes to the author of his days (see p. 120), every subject owes to the authorities who have been appointed by the Son of Heaven to administer the Empire. Cold practice may to a certain extent render this theory a dead letter, yet the theory remains unshaken, and so it is perfectly natural we should find instances on record of people who, of their own free will, have erected grave mounds over those deceased mandarins who by their conduct had obtained the love and respect of the community. Tao [3], a nephew of the founder of the Cheu dynasty, having died in A. D. 554 in Shang-kwei, in the present provinces of Kansuh and Shensi, » was buried to the west of that city. When he was carried out » for burial, over ten thousand people offered sacrifices to him » along the road; their piteous wailings filled the plains, and every- » body exclaimed: 'Does our Governor abandon us?' Old and young » conducted each other to the spot to carry earth for the tumulus, » which they raised to a height of over fifty feet, covering a circum- » ference of over eighty pu; and when the authorities put a stop

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[1] 孔全、亳州鹿邑人、父成病、刲股肉啖之、愈。後卒、廬墓左、負土爲墳、日六十肩。三年起墳、廣一畝、高三丈餘。陳乞兒、歸德夏邑人、年九歲母喪哀毀。親負土爲墳、高一丈、廣十六步、人憫其幼欲助之、則泣拜而辭. Chapter 197, l. 6 *et seq.*

[2] Wilson, Pre-historic Annals of Scotland, vol. I, p. 86.

[3] 導.

» to this, they weepingly took leave of the grave and retired. Such » was the beloved memory in which he was held" [1].

This rule with regard to the subjection, respect and devotion due to parents, superiors and mandarins, naturally extends to the Son of Heaven, himself the Father and Mother of his people and the highest mandarin of the Empire. Hence all his subjects are in duty bound to work at his mausoleum with the same zeal they would display at the grave of their own parents. This theory places the fact of the Chinese monarchs of all ages having regularly had their funereal monuments erected by statute labour, in a new light, and proves that the absolute right of the emperors to dispose without any restriction of the labour of their subjects (see page 433), and the duty of the latter to submit without demur to being driven in flocks to the imperial mausolea to do unpaid work there for years, are quite in harmony.

Sepulchral Trees.

We now come to a subject closely connected with that which has been the topic of this chapter so far, viz. the planting of trees upon burial grounds. Like the construction of big hills, ramparts and battlements over and around the remains of the distinguished dead, and the establishing of garrisons and guards on the spot, so the planting of these trees had for its original object the protection of the corpses from destruction; they rendered the graves undistinguishable at first sight from the surrounding knolls and forest-grounds, and so caused them to escape the attention of rebels and banditti raiding the country. This explains why it is so explicitly stated in the account of Shi Hwang's burial, reproduced on page 401, that trees were planted upon his grave to give it the aspect of a natural hill.

If there be truth in the theory developed in our First Chapter, that, in China, graves were at the outset the clay dwellings of the living, it necessarily follows that the planting of grave trees came into vogue at a later period. This is confirmed by the *Yih king*,

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[1] 乃葬於上邽城西。葬有萬餘人奠祭於路、悲號滿野、皆曰、我君捨我乎。大小相率負土成墳、高五十餘尺、周廻八十餘步、爲官司所止、然後泣辭而去。其遺愛見思如此. Books of the Cheu Dynasty, chapter 10, l. 3.

which avers that in the highest antiquity no trees were planted upon the graves (see page 281). But whatever may have been the state of matters in this respect in the mist of ages, it is a fact that sepulchral trees are mentioned in Chinese literature at a very early date, the *Cheu li* stating that »the Officer for the Grave »Mounds (see p. 421) fixes the dimensions of the hills and »mounds, and also the number of the trees, in accordance with »the rank of nobility" [1]. Besides, the *Li ki* (ch. 17, l. 2) says that »for the common people no grave mounds are made, nor trees »planted" [2]. Accordingly, already many ages before our era the size of tumuli kept regular pace with the number of trees planted about them, and both were equally proportionate to the rank of the dead or his kindred; which facts are clear evidence in favour of the correctness of our assertion that such trees served just the same purpose as the mounds, viz. that of protecting the corpse from destruction. No wonder then that it was prescribed they should be especially numerous in the case of the dead of rank and position, just as the tumuli of such people were to be bigger than those of individuals of lower stamp.

The important purpose which grave trees were expected to answer in ancient times, naturally caused them to hold the place of objects of special sacredness in the Religion of the Dead. »When »building a palace or dwelling", says the *Li ki* (chapter 6, l. 25), »men pre-eminent do not hew down any of the trees of their »grave hills" [3]. Moreover, the native literature of subsequent ages shows it has always been ranked among the duties of virtuous children and wives to plant and nurse with their own hands trees upon the graves of their parents and husbands, just as they were morally obliged by the laws of filial devotion and subjection, themselves to throw up mounds over the mortal remains of the honoured dead. Whosoever fulfilled the latter duty never neglected to fulfil the former, as will be seen from a choice collection of extracts from Chinese books to be inserted on pages 464 *et sqq.* They afford another proof that the object connected with the erection of grave mounds and that of the planting of trees thereon, were substantially analogous.

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1 冢人以爵等爲丘封之度與其樹數. Chapter 21, l. 44.

2 庶人不封不樹. Sect. 王制, III.

3 君子爲宮室不斬於丘木. Sect. 曲禮, II, 1.

We must still call attention to another motive prompting the planting of trees upon tombs. From pages 294 *et sqq.* the reader has learned that, since very ancient times, pines and cypresses have played a prominent part as producers of timber for coffins, and that this was the case because these trees, being believed to be imbued with great vitality, might counteract the putrefaction of the mortal remains. It has been stated, moreover, on page 348 that, according to the popular conception, such vitality, called shen and emanating from the Yang part of the Universe, is also the principal material of which the human manes are composed, so that a dead body, if properly circumvested with wood of pines and cypresses, may be a seat for the manes for ever, as they are greatly strengthened and intensified by the vitality communicated to them by the wood. These ideas fully account for the fact, to which we now wish to draw special attention, that since very ancient times pines and cypresses were planted upon tombs in preference to any other sort of trees, and this was done in the expectation that they might (1) counteract the putrefaction of the corpse and thus facilitate its resurrection, and (2) sustain the manes still cohabiting with the soul, so that a mystic relation between the trees and those manes naturally rooted itself in the mind of the people, nay, both were identified and assimilated with each other, thus creating a second reason why the living should regard sepulchral trees with awe and respect.

Let us now by means of extracts from the native literature ancient and modern, verify the correctness of what we have set forth. In strict accordance with the usual method followed in this work we shall arrange them in chronological order. According to the *Shuh i ki*, cypress trees were already planted in the burial grounds of the ancient princes of Lu; and if this statement, which has been reproduced on page 296, may be credited, it is the oldest reference on record about the cypress as a sepulchral tree, for it carries us back far into the epoch covered by the rule of the Cheu dynasty. There is reason for believing that, at that time, the Rottlera too, which (see p. 294) likewise played an important part in the manufacture of coffins, used to be planted upon graves, it being related in the Historical Records that Wu Tszĕ-sü [1] or Wu Yuen [2], an illustrious statesman of the kingdom of Wu in the

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1 He has been mentioned on page 349.

2 伍員.

sixth and fifth centuries B. C., was condemned by his sovereign, with whom he had fallen into disgrace, to commit suicide and, being fully convinced of the approaching conquest of Wu by the neighbouring kingdom of Yueh, »said to his steward: 'Be » sure to plant trees upon my grave, but take Rottleras, that » coffins may be made from them. And put out my eyes, and » hang them up over the eastern gate of Wu, that I may see the » enemies from Yueh march into the city to destroy it'. Upon this » he cut his throat" [1]. In another version of the same episode, inserted in the *Tso ch'wen* [2], it is stated that he ordered Kia trees to be planted upon his grave, and these trees, if not simply a variety of the Rottlera, were also used on a large scale in those ages for making coffins (comp. page 302).

During the Han dynasty, and ever since, pines and cypresses are mentioned in the books as sepulchral trees almost to the exclusion of all others. During the reign of that House, says the »Description of the Sepulchral Grounds of the Holy ones and the Sages" [3], » the king of Tung-p'ing having been back in the Realm for a » time, did not get the capital out of his head. Afterwards he died » and was buried in Tung-p'ing, and the pines and cypresses upon » his tomb all spread forth their branches unto the west" [4], that is to say, in the direction of the capital, the then Tung-p'ing being a part of the present Shantung province. In this legend we have the first instance of the aforesaid mysterious connection between sepulchral trees and the manes of the dead buried underneath them. That during the same period such trees were looked upon as objects of the greatest importance, may be inferred from the following extract: »During the Han dynasty the mausolea were all » under the control of the Grand-master of Sacrifices, and not under » that of the local administration of the department or the dis- » trict; any one who stole cypresses there was publicly punished

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1 乃告其舍人曰、必樹吾墓上、以梓、令可以爲器。而抉吾眼、縣吳東門之上、以觀越寇之入滅吳也。乃自剄死. Chapter 66, l. 8.

2 Eleventh year of the Ruler Ngai.

3 聖賢冢墓記.

4 東平王歸國思京師。後薨葬東平、其冢上松柏皆西靡. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapter 201.

» with death by the sword, and had his right foot chopped off" [1].

Instances of children who not only raised with their own hands grave mounds for their parents, but moreover planted and nursed the trees themselves, begin to occur also during the reign of the House of Han. » During the Later Han dynasty, Fang Chu, a » native of Tan-yang (in the present province of Kiangsu), having » lost his mother, carried the earth for the tumulus to the spot » and sowed pines and cypresses there, in the boughs of which » phenixes perched themselves, and about the roots thereof white » rabbits hopped and skipped" [1]. And Li Siün, a high dignitary of the same period, » having lost both his parents, for six years carried earth, planted cypresses, and constantly dwelt upon the grave" [3].

Similar instances become more numerous in the works of subsequent ages. The »Traditions about Eminent People of former times in Kwang-cheu" [4], relate that »Tun Khi's filial devotion was » exceedingly great. At the death of his mother he raised a grave » mound, which it took him more than a year to finish; he also » observed mourning longer than was prescribed by the existing » rules, and sowed a complete row of pines and cypresses" [5]. The Official Histories of that epoch much exalt a certain Shan T'ao [6], one of the highest dignitaries of the Empire in the third century of our era, relating of him that, »when the death of his mother » befell him, he returned to his native place, made the tumulus » by carrying the earth himself to the spot, and planted pines and

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1 漢諸陵皆屬太常、不屬郡縣、有人盜柏者棄市. Antiquities of San-fu, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapter 204.

2 後漢方儲丹陽人遭母憂、負土成墳、種松柏、鸞鳥栖其上、白兔游其下. *Ch'u hioh ki* 初學記, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapters 201 and 204.

3 李恂遭父母喪、六年躬自負土樹柏、常在塚上. *Tung-kwan Han ki* 東觀漢記 or »Records of the Han Dynasty from the Tung-kwan Pavilion", completed in the second century; *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapter 204.

4 廣州先賢傳.

5 頓琦至孝。母喪立墳、歷年乃成、居喪逾制、種松柏成行. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapters 201 and 204.

6 山濤.

» cypresses there with his own hands"[1]. And Yü Kwun[2], an uncle of the consort of the emperor Muh[3] who reigned in the early part of the fourth century, » on the death of his mother settled at the » side of her tomb, dressed in mourning. It happened that some » one cut the cypress trees which grew upon the tomb, and as » nobody knew who had done it, he convoked the neighbours to » the spot and accused himself before his ancestors, exclaiming » under a flood of tears, while knocking his forehead against the » ground: 'So negligent am I in practising virtue, that I have not » been able to protect the trees of my ancestors; it is my fault!'. » All the elders too were moved to tears, and thenceforth no violat- » ing hand ever touched the trees"[4].

Passing over a few centuries, in order to shorten our list of instances, we meet with the following episode relating to the grandee Chen Ch'en[5], who was invested in the fifth and sixth century with the highest dignities of the Empire. » Still ere the » period of mourning for his mother had elapsed, he lost his father. » With his own hands he sowed pines and cypresses in their » sepulchral grounds, and in the rigorous months of winter he » carried water thither and worked the earth. The elders of the » village lent him a helping hand out of compassion; the tumulus » was finished before ten and more years had elapsed, and the » trees then grew luxuriantly. With his younger brother Seng-lin » he made a solemn oath that they should settle on the spot"[6].

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1 會遭母喪、歸鄉里、負土成墳、手植松柏. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 43, l. 2.

2 He has been mentioned already on page 380.

3 穆.

4 母終、服喪居于墓側。或有斬其墓柏、莫知其誰、乃召鄰人集於墓而自責焉、因叩頭泣涕謝祖禰曰、德之不修不能庇先人之樹、衮之罪也。父老咸亦爲之垂泣、自後人莫之犯. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 88, l. 9.

5 甄琛.

6 琛母服未闋復喪父。琛於塋兆之內手種松柏、隆冬之月負掘水土。鄉老哀之、咸助加力、十餘年中墳成木茂。與弟僧林誓以同居. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 68, l. 5.

Elsewhere we read: »In Pa-ch'ing, the elder sister of Wang »Ching had been married as a principal consort to Wei King-yü; »but as this man died when she was only sixteen years of age, »her own parents and parents-in-law unanimously resolved to marry »her a second time. The young widow, however, took an oath »that she would never consent to this, and confirmed this oath »by cutting off her ears and placing them in a dish, whereupon »they gave up their project. She then sowed with her own hands »several hundreds of trees for her deceased husband, and the »cypresses just in front of the grave suddenly intertwined their »branches completely, untwining them again after more than a »year" [1]. Here we have another illustration of the intimate relation established by popular fancy between grave trees and the manes in behalf of which devoted kinsmen have planted them.

The Standard Histories of the T'ang dynasty too afford interesting passages illustrative of the part which sepulchral trees used to perform in the Religion of the Dead. The illustrious statesman Tih Jen-kieh [2], who lived in the eighth century, having reproved his sovereign for condemning to death a man who had by a mistake cut down cypresses on the mausoleum of a former monarch of the dynasty, the emperor retorted angrily: »So you order me to be an unfilial son!" [3]. »The maiden Li, a native of Pien (the present Khai-fung »fu [4] in the province of Honan), outdid all others in lamenting »during the period of mourning for her mother. She prepared »herself the requisites for the burial, and over a thousand inha- »bitants of the district and the village saw the deceased off to »the tomb. Having settled in a shed upon the grave, she car- »ried thither the earth for finishing off the burial ground, with »dishevelled hair and barefooted, and planted hundreds of pine

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1 霸城王整之姊嫁爲衛敬瑜妻、年十六而敬瑜亡、父母舅姑咸欲嫁之。誓而不許、乃截耳、置盤中爲誓、乃止。遂手爲亡婿種樹數百株、墓前栢樹忽成連理、一年許還復分散. History of the Southern part of the Realm, chapter 74, l. 8.

2 狄仁傑.

3 是使我爲不孝子. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 115, l. 1.

4 開封府.

trees there" [1]. And Ch'u Wu-liang [2], a grandee of very high rank in the eighth century, after the death of his mother »settled in » a shed on the left side of her grave. The deer damaged the pines » and cypresses he had planted there, but having called unto them: » 'There are still plenty of forests in the mountains, how can I then » allow you to injure the trees on this grave of mine?' they weaned » themselves of their importunity and butted the trees over no more" [3].

The literature of the Sung dynasty also furnishes instances of children and wives giving vent to their filial and conjugal devotion in a similar wise to that described above. Yih Yen-khing [4] was the son of a famous military commander, and himself an official person of high position. »In the last year of the period Khien teh » (A. D. 967), Yun (his father) died and was buried in Lin-hwai » (in the present province of Nganhwui). Yen-khing then settled » in a shed by the side of the grave, and planted there with his » own hands several hundreds of pines and cypresses. He resorted » to the spot in the morning to take care of the grave, but in » the evening he returned home to comfort his mother. And when » she too breathed her last, he settled again in a shed at the side » of the grave for several years. During her life his mother had » cherished a predilection for chestnuts; so Yen-khing planted two » chestnut trees at the side of the grave, and the branches of » these intertwined" [5]. This was a proof in the eyes of the people that the souls of husband and wife, who were buried together in that tomb in accordance with an established custom of those

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1 汴女李者居母喪哀號過人。自庀葬具、州里送葬千餘人。廬于墓、蓬頭跣而負土以完園塋、蒔松數百. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 205, l. 5.

2 褚無量.

3 廬墓左。鹿犯所植松柏、無量號訴曰、山林不乏、忍犯吾塋樹耶、自是群鹿馴擾、不復榛觸. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 200, l. 2.

4 易延慶.

5 乾德末嬪卒、葬臨淮。延慶廬於墓側、手植松柏數百本。旦出守墓、夕歸侍母。母卒復廬墓側數年。母平生嗜栗、延慶樹二栗樹墓側、二樹連理. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 7 *seq.*

times, had assimilated themselves each with one of those trees.

From the Sung dynasty onwards such episodes relative to sepulchral trees are seldom recorded in the books. But it is by no means necessary to have recourse to written documents to learn that the important position of those trees in social and religious life is still maintained in modern China. Graves dating from the last five centuries are extant in sufficient numbers to clear away any doubt on this head. Pines and cypresses play a principal part as grave trees in nearly all cases, and in the southern provinces a prominent place is given to the San, which, as the reader has been told on page 324, is widely made use of also in the construction of coffins. The »Interesting Book on the Art of becoming rich" [1] says that »in Wu (Chehkiang province) this tree is planted exclusively in grave parks and grave gardens" [2]. All this does not, however, shut out the fact that, especially in the south-eastern provinces, many graves are found planted with quite other trees, beside countless numbers without any trees at all; but particulars on this point are reserved for Chapter XIV. In the literature of the Sung dynasty the bamboo is sometimes mentioned as a sepulchral plant.

Our premises set forth at the commencement as to the position occupied by grave trees in the Religion of the Dead have now been sufficiently verified by documentary evidence. But there still remains something to be said about the part those trees play in protecting buried corpses from decay, and concerning their close connection with the manes of the dead imbedded at their roots.

Ancient mythology is the sole source from which any written evidence can be derived concerning the popular ideas prevailing on the first point. A tradition preserved in the *Shuh i ki*, which work was probably written in the sixth century (see p. 296), says: »In the time of Muh, a feudal lord of Ts'in (seventh century »B. C.), some one in Ch'en-ts'ang (in the present province of »Shensi), while digging in the earth, had found a beast resem- »bling a sheep or a pig; but it was neither of these animals. On »the road the said ruler came across two lads, who said to him: »'This beast is called ngao; in the earth it devours the brains »of the dead, but if its head be pierced by means of pines and

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[1] 致富奇書.

[2] 吳中但植于坵墓園圃中. Chapter I.

» cypresses, it dies'. Hence cypresses are now-a-days planted upon » the tombs, to prevent it from doing mischief" [1]. This legend was set down already in the »Geographical Memoirs of the T'aikhang period of the Tsin Dynasty" [2], which lies between the years 280 and 289 of our era, and has found its way from thence into the commentaries of the Historical Records [3]; in this version, however, the beast is called wei [4] and the occurrence itself is placed in the reign of the ruler Wen [5] of the same state of Ts'in, who wielded the sceptre in the eighth century before our era.

Here we have before us a people in a low state of culture, who, having but very vague ideas about the natural decomposition of animal matter in the earth, ascribe it, in the puerile way natural to semi-civilisation, to the action of an unseen voracious animal, which is to be extirpated by the operation of grave trees. The line of demarcation between myth and history has always been extremely faint in China, and many an author has sharped his brains upon a solution of the question what sort of a being this non-descript necrophagous monster can possibly have been; some wise men have arrived at the conclusion that it was akin to the fang-liang spectres which, as shown on page 162, were expelled from the burial pit at royal funerals by specially appointed Rescuers of the Country, so that this office was created for the express purpose of warding off dissolution from the dead in their graves. This matter however is not of sufficient importance to occupy more of our space.

To pass now to the second point: the identification of sepulchral trees with the manes residing in the grave. Among the extracts inserted above there are three which refer explicitly to such identification, but none of them so directly as the following episode. » On mount Poh-mang there is the grave of the chaste woman Li. » Her husband having departed this life, she buried him and planted » a couple of cypresses in front of the tomb. After a while a cow » bit off five inches from the top of the left tree, and when the

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1 秦穆公時陳倉人掘地得物、若羊非羊、似猪非猪。穆公道中逢二童子曰、此名蟲、在地中食死人腦、若以松柏穿其首則死。故今種柏在墓上以防其害也. Second part.

2 晉太康地志.

3 Chapter V, l. 6. 4 媚. 5 文.

» woman was informed of this, she exclaimed: 'The left one (*i. e.* » that on the principal side) is my husband', and she ran to the » grave. Wailing so bitterly that it was painful to behold, she » caressed the cypress, and ere the night was gone it had grown » up again as high as the tree on the right hand side. After her » death she was buried in the same grave" [1].

Chinese mythologists trace back the conceptions now under notice far into pre-Christian times. This is by no means to be accepted as a proof that they are so old in point of fact. The *Sheu shen ki* [2], written by Yü Pao [3] in the fourth century, one of the most celebrated collections of myths and legends the Chinese possess, which will be of great service to us in composing the Second Book of this work, contains the following tragic episode, said to have occurred about the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the third century before our era:

» Han P'ing, a steward of king Khang of the state of Sung, had » married a wife of the family Ho. As she was a good looking » woman, the king abducted her, casting Han P'ing, who felt » offended at this act of his sovereign, into a dungeon, to be » brought up for trial as a rebel. The next morning his wife secretly » forwarded a note to him, written in the following covert terms: » 'There falls plenty of rain; the river is swollen and its waters » are deep; the sunrise is like my heart'. This note was immediately » handed to the king, who showed it to those around him. None » of them could tell him what it meant, except the minister Su » Ho, who explained: » 'There falls plenty of rain' means that she » is overwhelmed with grief and filled with anxious thoughts; 'the » river is swollen and its waters are deep' signifies that she cannot » have intercourse with him, and 'the sunrise is like my heart' is » an allusion to her purpose to die (*i. e.* to keep herself chaste » and pure like the morning)". Han P'ing now suddenly committed » suicide. His wife then secretly rendered her clothes fragile, and

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[1] 北邙山有李節婦墓。其初夫死、氏葬之、植雙柏墓前。頃有牛嚙左樹之杪五寸、氏聞之曰、左者夫也、乃赴墓前。撫柏痛哭、一夜長與右齊。卒乃合墓. »Memoirs of the district of Hwang-mei" 黃梅縣志, in Hukwang province; *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapter 204.

[2] 搜神記. [3] 干寶.

» when the king had ascended the terrace with her, she cast herself » down from the height. The bystanders managed to grasp her, » but her dress gave way in their hands. Thus she perished.

» A letter was found in her girdle, which ran as follows: 'Your » Majesty bestowed favours upon him during his life, and myself » have done something for him after his death; so I hope that my » remains may be awarded to P'ing, and entombed with him in » the same grave'. But the enraged monarch would not comply » with this request, and ordered the people of the ward to bury » her anywhere. The graves were opposite to each other, and the » king said: 'You, man and wife, loved one another so much; well, » cause your graves to become united in one, if you can, and I » will not prevent it'. Before one night had passed, a large Rottlera » tree grew up in the centre of each grave, and after ten days they » were so big that they could no longer be embraced by both » arms. The trunks inclined towards each other; below, the roots » grew together; above, the branches intertwined, and a couple of » mandarin ducks, a male and a female, perched continuously in » those trees, never leaving the place from morning till night. With » their necks twisted around each other, they sent forth plaintive » cries, which filled the people with emotion. The inhabitants of » Sung felt compassion with the couple and called the trees 'The » Trees of Mutual Remembrance'; in the South the people pretend » that those birds were the manes of Han P'ing and his wife" [1].

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[1] 宋康王舍人韓憑娶妻何氏。美、康王奪之、憑怨、王囚之、論爲賊。旦妻密遺憑書繆、其辭曰、其雨淫淫、河大水深、日出當心。即而王得其書以示左右。左右莫解其意、臣蘇賀對曰、其雨淫淫言愁且思也、河大水深、不得往來也、日出當心、心有死志也。俄而憑乃自殺。其妻乃陰腐其衣、王與之登臺、妻遂自投臺。左右攬之、衣不中手、而死。

遺書於帶曰、王利其生、妾利其死、願以屍骨賜憑合葬。王怒弗聽、使里人埋之。冢相望也、王曰、爾夫婦相愛不已、若能使冢合、則吾弗阻也。宿昔之間便有大梓木生於二冢之端、旬日而

Another legend of the same tenor is given by the *Shuh i ki.* »During the rule of the Wu dynasty there lived in the Hwang »lung period (A. D. 229—231) in Hai-yen, the capital of Wu »(Chehkiang province), the wife of Luh Tung-mi, whose own family »name was Chu. She was nice looking, and husband and wife »cared for nobody but each other, never allowing the distance of an »inch or a pace to separate them. People at that time called them »the couple who kept their shoulders always against each other, »and held that it was doubtful whether the pi-yih of ancient »times[1] could have surpassed them. After a time the wife died, and »Tung-mi sought death by starvation. Moved with compassion, their »relatives buried them in the same grave; and within a year Rottleras »sprouted forth from the tomb, having one set of roots, but two »stems, which embraced each other in such a wise as to form one single »tree. A couple of swans came regularly to sleep therein, and when »Sun Khuen (the then reigning emperor) heard of this, he uttered »sighs of admiration and bestowed upon that locality the name of »'the grave of those who always had their shoulders against each »other'. The place is also designated as 'The Pair of Rottleras'"[2].

These myths may be said to sufficiently illustrate the close relationship which the Chinese of all times have believed to exist between sepulchral trees and the manes of the dead. Let it be noted in conclusion that this relation also explains why T'ao Hung-king, the renowned physician of the fifth century already mentioned

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大盈抱。屈體相就、根交於下、枝錯於上、又有鴛鴦雌雄各一恆棲樹上、晨夕不去。交頸悲鳴、音聲感人。宋人哀之、遂號其木曰相思樹、南人謂此禽卽韓憑夫婦之精魂. Chapter XI.

1 A species of bird exalted by poets as paragons of conjugal attachment. The name seems to signify »birds with joined wings".

2 吳黃龍年中吳都海鹽有陸東美妻朱氏。亦有容、止夫妻相重、寸步不相離。時人號爲比肩人、云昔比翼恐不能加也。後妻卒、東美不食求死。家人哀之、乃合葬、未一歲冢上生梓樹、同根二身、相抱而合成一樹。每有雙鴻常宿於上、孫權聞之、嗟嘆、封其里曰比肩墓。又曰雙梓. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, sect. 草木, chapter 240.

on page 274, wrote in his *Ming i pieh luh* that »cypresses are »everywhere to be found, but those of mount T'ai (in Shantung) »must be deemed to be the best, and every one avoids the use »of those which grow upon burial grounds"[1]. Indeed, considering that the medical art in China has ever been in the main an art for neutralizing life-destroying influences by the aid of benevolent souls, it needs no demonstration to prove that good effects cannot be expected from medecines acquired from grave trees to the detriment of souls. Such drugs would have quite the opposite effect, as the souls thus deprived would cool their wrath upon the person who ventured to use them.

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[1] 處處有柏、當以太山爲佳爾、並忌取塚墓上者. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, chapter 34.

CHAPTER VI.

ON MOURNING CUSTOMS.

1. The Origin of Mourning and Fasting for the Dead.

Perhaps it may at first sight appear strange to our readers that the subject announced by this heading is placed amongst matters connected with the Grave. A perusal of the following pages will show, however, that there are weighty reasons to justify our allotting to mourning and fasting a place in this part of our work.

Several passages quoted in Chapters III and IV from ancient works treating of the epoch during which the Empire was ruled by the dynasties of Cheu and Han, afford evidence that, in those times, the dead were bounteously provided in their subterranean abodes with all kinds of articles, among which clothing and food took a chief place. Seeing that even in those historical times, when culture had already made considerable progress, the said custom had as firm a hold upon Chinese life as those passages lead us to believe, we may certainly infer that it had been more rigorous in preceding ages, when manners and customs were still more strongly dominated by barbarism or semi-savagery. In other words, we feel no hesitation in stating, that there was a period when death in China entailed the total ruin of the family of the defunct.

Afterwards, under the constant influence of advancing culture, the custom of burying valuables along with the dead gradually fell into disuse, but without entirely dying away. At the same time, the original doctrine that it is a sacred duty on the part of children to give up their property for the sake of the deceased authors of their being, and to remain behind in a state of the direst poverty, was prevented from dying out by the theory of the hiao, which commands unbounded devotion to parents even after their departure of this life. This theory, having obtained greater hold as civilisation advanced, led to the inevitable result that children,

though discontinuing the actual renunciation of their property, kept up with all the more ardour the outward appearances of faithfully observing it, dressing for this purpose in the cheapest possible garments and contenting themselves with the simplest possible food. Thus wearing mourning and fasting became a dual rite, thenceforth as inseparably connected with death as the rich equipment of the dead with clothes and food had formerly been.

That in the time of Confucius mourning and fasting held such a place in point of fact, can be proved by documentary evidence. Both rites were then declared by wise men to be amongst the chief things to be observed in case of death by all classes of society, and as such to take rank with howling or calling back the soul, which, as we have pointed out on pages 243 *et sqq.*, then occupied a position of the very highest importance among the funeral rites. We read in the *Li ki* (chapter 9, l. 28): »The mother » of the ruler Muh having died, the latter sent a man to ask » Tseng-tszĕ how he ought to act, and Tseng-tszĕ answered: 'I, » Shen, have heard from my father that the sorrow expressed by » the wailing and weeping, the feelings manifested by hemmed and » frayed mourning garments, and the eating of rice-porridge extend » from the Son of Heaven downward to all" [1].

The wearing of mourning has since very ancient times been maintained in Chinese society as an institution of undisputed weight, and has never suffered any significant decline. Not only in domestic and social life, but even in legislation, it has always played a part of great importance, a part curious and interesting, and highly characteristic of the Chinese nation. This is not the case with the custom of fasting, which as a funeral rite has been gradually dying away, without, however, having entirely disappeared.

In dealing with the subject of mourning, as we shall henceforth briefly denominate the custom of wearing mourning dress, we must in the first place draw upon the native literature to confirm our theory about its origin.

That at the outset it really consisted in ceding one's own raiment to the dead, is confirmed by the fact that in the age

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[1] 穆公之母卒、使人問於曾子、曰、如之何。對曰、申也聞諸申之父曰、哭泣之哀、齊斬之情、饘粥之食、自天子達. Sect. 檀弓, I, 1.

of Confucius it was customary for the mourners to throw off their own clothes as far as decency allowed, *when the corpse was being dressed.* Chapter 10 of the *Li ki* (l. 54) relates that, »when »at the death of the mother of Shuh-sun-wu-shuh the slighter »dressing had been completed, and the men who had lifted up the »corpse had gone out at the door of the back chamber, he went »out at this door himself, bared the upper part of his body and »flung away his cap, tying his hair in a knot. Tszĕ-yiu (a disciple »of Confucius) said of him: 'He knows the rites'" [1]. Indeed, to behave like Shuh-sun-wu-shuh was prescribed as a good custom at that time, for the *I li* says, immediately after the rescripts on the slighter dressing, which we have reproduced in full on page 337: »The principal mourner ties his hair together and bares the upper »part of his body; the other principal mourners tie up their hair »with a lace in the apartments, and the women coil up theirs in »the back chamber" [2]. Similar rescripts occur in the 57th. chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 17).

But more proofs of the correctness of our theory can be produced. The *I li* informs us that, when *after the slighter dressing* the corpse had been transferred to a couch in the back chamber, the mourners resorted to the court-yard, where hempen headbands, waistropes and girdles had been duly laid out for them, and that there »they re-adjusted their dress on the upper part of the body and put on the headbands near the wall on the east" [3]. The same work says further, that on the third day this partial mourning was laid aside and »full mourning dress with the staff was then assumed" [4], and this was the first act of importance *after the full dressing of the corpse,* which took place on the day before and, as has been stated on page 364, was immediately connected with the coffining and the temporary burial. The *Li ki* (ch. 57, l. 32) also says: »At »the funeral rites for an ordinary officer they store away the coffin »in the hall on the second day; and in the morning of the third »the principal mourners assume the staff, and the chief female

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[1] 叔孫武叔之母死、既小斂、舉者出戶、出戶、袒、且投其冠、括髮。子游曰、知禮. Sect. 檀弓, I, 2.

[2] 主人髽髮、袒、衆主人免于房、婦人髽于室. Chapter 27, l. 41 and 44.

[3] 主人襲、絰于序東. Chapter 27, l. 47.

[4] 三日成服、杖. Chapter 28, l. 35.

mourners do so too" [1]. Still now-a-days it is a legal rescript laid down in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* [2], that amongst the official classes of the Empire complete mourning is to be assumed *on the self-same day on which the dead are dressed.*

On pages 36, 336 and 338 of this work citations are given from the *Li ki* and the *I li*, which fully confirm that it was a general custom under the Cheu dynasty to bare the upper part of the body during the dressing of the dead, both for the principal mourners and all those who took an active part in this ceremony. Moreover, the baring of the chest and shoulders is mentioned more than once in the *I li* in direct connection with interment. This too is quite a matter of course, as clothing material offered to the dead used for the greater part to be placed in the grave along with the coffin. From the citation inserted on page 168 we learn that the principal mourners bared their breasts when messengers, despatched by the Ruler on the day before the burial, arrived to present material for clothes and other articles to the defunct. Further we see from an extract reproduced on page 177 that the same was done by the Invoker, when he entered upon his functions at the commencement of the immediate preparations for the interment, and that this sacerdotal functionary then moreover bared his head. Finally it is stated in the passage quoted on page 196 that the principal mourner bared the upper part of his body when parcels of black and scarlet silk were deposited in the grave by the side or on the lid of the coffin. To this we may add that it was customary in those times for officials to be partly undressed when following in the funeral procession of their sovereign; for we read in the *Tso ch'wen* [3] that the ruler of the state of Lai [4], on being attacked by the united armies of some confederated states, in token of his absolute submission to their arms, repaired to their head-quarters, his hands tied together, his mouth holding a piece of jade as if he were a corpse, and followed by a coffin, and by his officers who had bared the upper part of their bodies.

That the wearing of mourning virtually stands in the closest

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[1] 士之喪二日而殯、三日之朝主人杖、婦人皆杖. Sect. 喪大記, I.

2 Chapter 52, l. 3.

3 The fourth year of the Ruler Chao's reign.

4 賴.

connection with interment, is furthermore proved by the circumstance that, during the Cheu dynasty, the nearest relatives used to put it on again at the burial when this took place so late that the customary period of mourning had already elapsed. This was done even in the case of brothers, the *Li ki* stating (ch. 46, l. 50): »When the interment of an elder or a younger brother takes place »after the mourning for him has been cast off, then the mourning »dress which is prescribed for a brother must be put on again"[1]. Still at the present day it is an established social custom for any one who follows the dead to the grave, to dress in the very deepest mourning prescribed for the degree of relationship in which he stands to the defunct, no matter how long a time intervenes between the ceremony and the termination of the period of mourning.

During the Cheu dynasty, stripping the upper part of the body was, however, by no means exclusively confined to the period of the dressing and the burial of the dead. The principal mourner did the same while stuffing the mouth of the deceased with rice and cowries (page 275 *seq.*), although in this case he might have done so to prevent the sleeves from incommoding him in the performance of his function. Further, according to a rescript attributed to Confucius, a newly born successor to the Throne had to be introduced to the manes of his deceased father undressed, and thereupon to be attired in a coat of sackcloth, all the attending officers, from the highest to the lowest, baring the upper part of their bodies at the same time (page 350 *et seq.*). The *Li ki* moreover says (ch. 46, l. 53): »Hastening to the spot on his father's »death, a son gathers his hair together in a knot inside the hall, »bares the upper part of his body, goes down the steps, stamps »his feet, puts on his clothes and ties on a waistrope on the »eastern side (of the court-yard). Hurrying to the funeral rites of »his mother, he does not bind his hair into a knot, but bares »his body likewise inside the hall; thereupon he descends into the »court-yard and, having stamped his feet, redresses there on the »eastern side, binding his hair with a lace, and then putting on »a waistrope. Then he proceeds to his appointed place, performs »a complete stamping of the feet, and goes out from the gate, »whereupon the wailing ceases. In the course of three days there

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[1] 爲兄弟旣除喪已、及其葬也反服其服. Section 喪服小記, II.

» are five periods of wailing, and the upper part of the body is » bared three times" [1].

This theory of the origin of baring the upper part of the body and doing away with the headgear as a token of mourning does not exclude the possibility that this custom may have been greatly influenced, nay even initiated, by the practice, peculiar to savage life, of tearing one's hair and rending one's clothes in case of death, as a token of despair. We have, indeed, every reason to believe that in ancient China mourners were much addicted to such showy signs of grief, for, as we have demonstrated on pages 254 *sqq.*, they also screamed and wailed, stamped their feet and beat their breasts in mad infatuation, probably even going so far as to lacerate their flesh.

2. Renouncing the Dwelling and its Furniture as a token of Mourning.

The correctness of our theory that fasting and wearing mourning originated in the practice of abandoning everything to the dead, is strongly confirmed by the fact that, in ancient historic China, it was an established mourning custom to give up to the defunct even the dwelling in which he had lived and breathed his last, with all its belongings, the children removing elsewhere, to miserable huts of clay, destitute of all bedding and furniture. The reader will remember our statements on pages 363 *et sqq.* that, even as late as the era of Cheu, it was customary amongst the higher classes to bury their dead in the house for a time, the descendants retiring into mourning sheds specially built for the purpose.

This interesting custom now demands our particular attention. In the *Li ki* it is mentioned in the same sentence with fasting and wearing mourning apparel, which is another proof that the three things were connected together by the closest ties. »A large wound", says that book (chapter 71, l. 22), »remains long, and sharp pain » passes tardily away. The shabby coat with its edges roughly cut

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[1] 奔父之喪括髮於堂上、袒、降、踊、襲絰於東方。奔母之喪不括髮、袒於堂上、降、踊、襲免於東方、絰。卽位、成踊、出門、哭止。三日而五哭三袒. Sect. 喪服小記, II.

» off and the mourning staff; dwelling in a shed reared against the » wall; eating rice-gruel there and sleeping on straw or matting » with a clod of earth for a pillow — these things are the outward » signs of the deepest grief" [1].

Dwelling for a time in such mourning sheds is mentioned already in ancient records treating of the epoch covered by the house of Yin. Speaking of Kao Tsung [2], a monarch also known by the name of Wu Ting [3], who was seated on the throne fourteen centuries before our era, the *Shu king* says: » When the sovereign was in » mourning, he dwelt in a liang-ngan until the three sacrifices [4] » had been offered, and he did not speak until he was entirely » discharged from mourning" [5]. This term liang-ngan, 亮陰, which seems to mean » shed of meditation" or » shed of enlightenment", is written differently in other ancient works. So, in a passage in the *Lun yü* [6], which states that, according to Confucius, all the sovereigns of antiquity had lived in mourning sheds, it occurs in the shape of 諒陰, and in another version of the same passage, to be found in chapter 77 of the *Li ki* (l. 14), it is written 諒闇; nevertheless both forms have probably quite the same meaning as the expression used in the *Shu king*, for they are also pronounced liang-ngan.

Elsewhere we find the word liang-ngan written 梁闇, which characters signify » a hut of beams". This expression may owe its origin to the circumstance that some substantial pieces of wood were used in its construction. The *Li ki* (chapt. 58, l. 18) says: » When a father or mother dies, the children dwell in sheds » reared against the wall. These are not plastered with clay, and » they sleep therein on straw or matting, with a clod of earth » for a pillow. They do not speak there, except on matters con- » cerning death. When such a shed is made by a Ruler, it is fenced » around, but no fence is made when it is erected by a Great » officer or an ordinary officer. After the burial, posts and lintels

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[1] 創鉅者其日久、痛甚者其愈遲。斬衰、苴杖、居倚廬、食粥、寢苫、枕塊、所以爲至痛飾也. Sect. 三年問. [2] 高宗. [3] 武丁.

4 See note 1 on page 482.

[5] 王宅憂亮陰三祀、既免喪其惟弗言. Sect. 說命, I. A repetition of this statement occurs in the section entitled 無逸.

6 Chapter XIV, 43.

» are inserted, and the sheds are plastered, but not on the visible » outside; then they are also fenced, if they be intended for the occu- » pancy of a Ruler, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer. All the » sons but the eldest by the principal wife have sheds made for » themselves before the burial, in out-of-the-way places" [1].

As this passage gives us so much information about the mourning sheds, it is well worth while to analyze it thoroughly. First of all it shows that the principal among the sons, the Continuator of the family, and as such the chief mourner, was not allowed to have a shed before the burial; even the most miserable mourning hut was deemed too good for him during those days when, in theory at least, the offspring might retain absolutely nothing for themselves. Further we learn, that only if occupied by the chief of a state was it allowed to improve the shed a little by constructing a fence around it, but that in every other case it was left entirely exposed to the view of the inmates of the house. When the burial was completed, some slight improvements were made to the sheds by strengthening them with pieces of wood and by roughly plastering the walls with clay on the inside, to keep out the cold and rain; indeed, it being considered that by that time the dead had carried off unto the realm of shades everything worth having, the survivors might again commence to possess some few things and to indulge in a shade more of comfort and luxury. Afterwards, at regular intervals, they were allowed to make further improvements in the sheds. » When" says the *Li ki* (ch. 71. l. 7), » at the death of a » father or mother the great sacrifice which follows on the burial » has been celebrated and the period of wailing is concluded, posts » and lintels are fitted in, and the walls are clipped (to remove » the superfluous straw); the mats of Hu rushes also are then » clipped, but their edges not bent over to the inside. Subsequently, » after a year, when the Lesser Sacrifice of Felicity has been » offered, the mourners occupy unplastered rooms and sleep there on » mats; at the end of another year, when the Great Sacrifice of » Felicity has been presented, they re-occupy their bedrooms, and » after one month more, when the sacrifice which concludes the

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[1] 父母之喪居倚廬。不塗、寢苫、枕由。非喪事不言。君爲廬、宮之、大夫士禫之。既葬柱楣塗廬、不於顯者、君大夫士皆宮之。凡非適子者自未葬以於隱者爲廬. Sect. 喪大記, II.

» mourning [1] has been offered, they may make use of their beds » again" [2]. Accordingly, the unplastered rooms served as the transition from the sheds to the usual dwelling; in them they passed what may be called the period of slighter mourning or semi-mourning.

Only for the male members of the family of the dead was it obligatory to dwell in mourning sheds. » Women", says the *Li ki* (chapter 58, l. 22), »do not dwell in mourning sheds, nor do they sleep on straw or matting" [3]. How matters stood with respect to more removed relatives, is stated by the *Li ki* (chapter 71, l. 6) in the following explicit terms: »At the death of a father or » mother, the sons occupy mourning sheds built against the wall, » and sleep there on straw or matting, with a clod of earth for » a pillow; they do not even take off their hempen waistrope, » nor their mourning girdle. The relatives who have to mourn in » the second degree occupy unplastered rooms with mats of Hu » rushes that are clipped, but the edges of which are not bent » over to the inside. Those of the third degree (which lasts nine » months) have mats to sleep on; and those of the fourth degree » and the fifth (which last five and three months respectively) are » allowed to use their own beds" [4]. In other words, the severity of the obligation to renounce the use of one's dwelling and furniture on behalf of the dead was in direct proportion to the nearness of kinship existing between the individual concerned and the defunct.

The regimen to be observed by the mourners while occupying the sheds or the unplastered rooms was likewise minutely regulated by customary laws. »Those", says the *Li ki* (ch. 55, l. 15), »who » are in the (deepest) mourning which lasts into the third year, » speak, but do not discourse; they give answers, but do not ask » questions. In the sheds or the unplastered rooms they do not sit

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1 The three last-named sacrifices are the same as are mentioned in the extract from the *Shu king* on page 480.

2 父母之喪既虞卒哭、柱楣、翦屏、芐翦、不納。期而小祥、居堊室、寢有席。又期而大祥、居復寢。中月而禫、禫而牀. Section 閒傳.

3 婦人不居廬、不寢苫. Section 喪大記, II.

4 父母之喪居倚廬、寢苫、枕塊、不說絰帶。齊衰之喪居堊室、芐翦、不納。大功之喪寢有席。小功緦麻牀可也. Section 閒傳.

» down in company with other people. While occupying the un-
» plastered rooms, they may not, when they visit their mother
» at unfixed times, enter the house through the gate. Those who
» wear slighter mourning dwell in unplastered rooms all the time,
» and not in mourning sheds, as the latter represent the severest
» form of mourning" [1]. This statement that the wearing of deep mourning dress was intimately connected with the deep mourning shed, and slight mourning dress with a slight mourning room, proves how fully Chinese documents testify that wearing mourning and living in mourning apartments were two customs linked together by the closest ties. Furthermore we have in the *Li ki* (ch. 70, l. 33): » On returning home after having completed the ceremonies at the » grave, (a son) dares not enter the rooms of the dwelling, but » dwells in a shed reared against the wall, for grief that his parent » is now outside. He sleeps on straw or matting, with a clod of » earth for a pillow, for grief that his parent is now in the earth. » Therefore also he wails and weeps without regard to times, » enduring the toil of mourning until the third year; for it is the » inclination of a filial son and, moreover, the true instinct of » human nature, to affectionately remember the dead" [2].

From the above citations it will be seen that the deep mourning sheds are generally denoted in the *Li ki* by the character 廬. Sometimes, however, this Classic designates them by 次, *e. g.* in the 70th. chapter [3]; they are likewise designated by this character in the *I li*, as may be seen from the extracts given on page 118 and page 367. From these two characters a couple of expressions have been formed, which frequently occur in Chinese books, viz. 喪次, »shed of mourning", and 廬次, »mourning shed" or »to dwell in a mourning shed".

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1 三年之喪言而不語、對而不問。廬堊室之中不與人坐焉。在堊室之中非時見乎母也不入門。疏衰皆居堊室、不廬、廬嚴者也. Sect. 雜記, II, 1.

2 成壙而歸、不敢入處室、居於倚廬、哀親之在外也。寢苫、枕塊、哀親之在土也。故哭泣無時、服勤三年、思慕之心孝子之志也、人情之實也. Section 間喪.

3 Section 奔喪.

The same spirit of conservatism, which, as we have several times had occasion to remark in this work, has uninterruptedly induced succeeding dynasties to elevate customs and usages, mentioned by the ancient works, to the rank of official rites, has also caused the dwelling in mourning sheds to be received amongst the formal institutions of the State. In the Khai yuen Codex it is prescribed for all classes of society. »When (after the coffining) complete » mourning is about to be assumed, the managers of the funeral » rites first construct sheds on the east side of the hall where » the coffin is stored away. These sheds are built in the side » colonnade, but for officers of the sixth degree and those still » lower in rank they are made underneath the window. They are » placed towards the south and have the entrance on the north. » Inside there is straw or matting, and a clod of earth. Each of » the sons of the dead has one shed for his own use. For officers » of the first degree down to the fifth the sheds are fenced.

»For those who have to mourn in the second degree, unplastered » apartments of accumulated clay are constructed on the south side » of the mourning sheds. All of which have their entrances on the » north. The mats inside are of clipped Calamus rushes, and un- » hemmed.

»The father and the elder brothers of the dead do not occupy » sheds in the locality where the coffin is stored away, but each » of them has either his shed or his unplastered apartment on the » east side of the back chamber. A grandfather at the death of » his grandson who is the Continuator of the family [1] occupies » an unplastered apartment which contains a bedstead. All these » apartments front to the south, but have their entrances on the » west side.

» A father does not dwell in a shed outside the house for his » sons, except for the eldest by the principal wife (the Continuator). » On the death of a son by a concubine he may act as he thinks » fit, for instance sleep in a bedroom.

»The mourners of the third degree have in their unplastered » rooms curtains on the south side, and mats of Calamus rushes. » Those of the fourth or fifth degree set up their beds at the » south side of the mourners of the third degree, and also have » Calamus mats to sleep on. As to the women — they dwell in » sheds erected in the western apartment, and after the coffining

1 What is to be understood by such a grandson is explained on page 517.

» they place their beds in the hall where the coffin is kept. If there » are no apartments, they reside in the back part of the house, » or in some other room" [1].

The Rituals for Family Life too give rescripts with regard to the dwelling in mourning apartments. »Outside the central gate » one must select apartments great and small, for making sheds » therein for the up-grown male mourners. Those who wear the » mourning of the first degree sleep in those sheds on mats or » straw, with a clod of earth for a pillow, not even putting off » their mourning band from the head, nor their hempen girdle; » they do not sit down there in company with others, and when » they visit their father or mother at unfixed times, do not » enter by the central gate. The relatives of the second degree » of mourning sleep on mats; those of the third, the fourth and » the fifth, in case they live in another house, return home after » the coffining and then dwell and sleep outside their own houses, » making use of their bedrooms again in the third month. And » as for the women — they either abide in sheds erected in the » side rooms within the central gate, or dwell by the side of the » coffin. They remove all ornamentation from their curtains, cover- » lets and mattrasses, and are not allowed to resort freely to the » mourning sheds of the males" [2].

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[1] 將成服、掌事者先爲廬於殯堂東。廊下、六品以下於牖下。近南、北戶。設苫凷於廬內。諸子各一廬。凡廬五品以上營之.

齊縗於廬南累塹爲堊室。俱北戶。翦蒲爲席、不緣.

父兄不次殯所、各在其正寢之東爲廬次堊室。祖爲嫡孫居堊室、有牀。皆南面、西出戶.

父不爲衆子次於外。於庶子略自、若居寢.

大功於堊室之南張帷、席以蒲。小功緦麻於大功之南設牀、席以蒲。婦人次於西房、若殯後施下牀殯堂。無房者次於後、若別室.

[2] 中門之外擇樸陋之室爲丈夫喪次。斬衰寢苫、枕塊、不脫絰帶、不與人坐焉、非時見乎父母也不入中門。齊衰寢席、大功以下異居者既

Apart from all these official and semi-official rescripts, we find in the Histories of the Empire numerous instances of children and wives having dwelt in sheds on the graves of their parents and husbands. Some examples have been placed before the reader on pages 464 *et sqq.*; others will be given in the second section of chapter IX, where we shall try, moreover, to demonstrate that the practice must be considered as a partial modification of another ancient custom observed by faithful wives, daughters, slaves and ministers, namely that of immolating themselves to follow a husband, parent, master or sovereign into the grave, to continue their services in the next world.

Dwelling in a shed upon the grave has perhaps been entirely discontinued now-a-days, at least we never saw, heard, or even read of a case having actually occurred of late years. But the custom of renouncing the dwelling and its furniture as a token of mourning is far from having disappeared. It has been mentioned in the first part of this Book. There we have seen (page 27) that, in Amoy, the wife, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and the eldest grandson pass the nights by the side of the corpse on mats or on straw spread out on the floor, and that (see page 114) this usage is, in some cases, kept up till the first or second day after the burial. Further we have stated on page 25 that the furniture, inclusive the altar with the ancestral tablets and the images of the gods, is removed from the hall, and that all ornamentation of the walls is taken away. To this we may add that in the same part of the Empire, during the great Buddhist mass celebrated in the house of mourning and lasting amongst the well-to-do for a long series of days, sheds of curtains, popularly styled *kaó tiaó*[1] or »dog-kennels", are construed in the hall for the occupancy of the mourners. These will be referred to again in our description of that mass, to which a part of our Book on Buddhism will be devoted.

Not only the people, however, conform to the ancient custom. The Imperial family does so too. It is prescribed in the *Ta T'sʿing tʿung li* that, at the death of an Emperor, the new sovereign must

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殯而歸、居宿於外、三月而後復寢。婦人次於中門之內別室、或居殯側。去幃帳衾褥之華麗者、不得輒至男子喪次.

[1] 狗寮.

dwell in a »side room"[1], and his sons and grandsons in »other apartments of the palace than those they are accustomed to live in"[2]; further, at the death of his mother, the Son of Heaven must likewise take up his abode in a side room[3], and the Imperial princes of sundry degrees must, when the Emperor is dead, dwell in »a room of abstinence, each in his private mansion"[4]. Similar rules have been laid down in the same work for observance on the death of other members of the Imperial family. It prescribes, moreover, that in cases of death of officers and of members of the gentry »the sons shall dwell in sheds outside the central gate of the »house, and sleep there on straw or matting, with a clod of earth »for a pillow, not then even putting off their mourning band from »the head, or their hempen girdle. The wife and daughters must »dwell in sheds constructed inside the central gate; they must use »curtains, pillows and coverlets of plain linen, and wail by day »and by night without regard to times, whenever their grief »reaches its highest pitch"[5]. And as to the common people, with them the sons, wife and daughters have to behave in the same manner, but »the sons must dwell at the side of the coffin, the others in other apartments than those they usually abide in"[6].

Chinese books acquaint us with still another curious custom evidently engendered by the practice of giving up one's dwelling and furniture to the dead to whom it belonged when alive, viz. that of abstaining from entering the private apartments of a deceased parent or parent-in-law. In the »Domestic Instructions by Mr. Yen", which, as stated on page 43, date from the sixth century, we read: »After the death of their parents, the sons and their wives »cannot find it in their hearts to enter the private apartments »and bedrooms which were occupied by the deceased. Under the »Northern Dynasties (fifth and sixth centuries), Li Keu, an inhab-

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1 翼室.

2 宮中別室. See chapter 47, l. 2 and 3.

3 Chapter 48, l. 1.

4 各私第齊室. Chapter 47, l. 3.

5 諸子次於中門之外、寢苫、枕塊、不脫絰帶。諸婦女子次於中門之內、帷幔枕衾皆布素、哀至則哭、晝夜無時. Chapter 52, l. 2 and 3, and l. 19.

6 諸子居柩側、諸婦女子易常次. Chapter 52, l. 23.

» itant of Tun-khiu, after the death of his mother, Madam Liu, » kept the hall in which she had been wont to dwell locked and » closed to the end of his life, not suffering himself to open or » enter it" [1]. Other passages of this kind we have not come across in the native literature, which, however, is no proof that the custom was not widely spread and may even prevail in these days. Seeing it is explicitly stated by the author of the Domestic Instructions that it was practised only by the sons and their wives, that is to say, by the nearest relations who had to observe the deepest mourning, we cannot suppose that it was based merely upon a fear of the soul of the defunct, which may have been thought to hover about in the apartments. If such were the case, the said author would probably have stated that the apartments were avoided by everybody without exception.

3. Mourning as a Social and Political Institution in Ancient and Modern China.

Having so far traced the origin of the principal Chinese mourning customs, we must now subject to closer examination the wearing of mourning dress as practised in China anciently, and sketch the influence thereby exercised in that country upon the mourning of after ages and modern times.

If it be correct that wearing mourning originated in China in the custom of sacrificing to the dead even the clothes on one's own back, it is natural that, in such ancient times as the native literature makes us acquainted with, mourning dress must have been characterized by a total absence of ornaments. These being among the last of the necessities of life, the survivors might give them up to the defunct first of all. »The removal of finery", says » the *Li ki* (ch. 12, l. 28), » means doing away with an attractive » appearance, and the utmost one can do in removing finery is to bare » the upper part of the body and to tie the hair in a knot" [2]; indeed, » it would have been difficult to do more than thus to surrender

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[1] 二親既歿、所居齋寢子與婦弗忍入焉。北朝頓丘李構母劉氏夫人亡後、所住之堂終身鑰閉、弗忍開入也. Sixth section.

[2] 去飾去美也.袒括髮去飾之甚也. Sect. 檀弓, II, 1.

to the dead even one's last piece of clothing and headgear. Further the *Li ki* has (ch. 13, l. 26): »Shih Tai-chung [1] died, » leaving no son by his principal wife, but six by concubines. The » tortoise-shell being consulted as to which of them was to be the » successor of his father, the oracle declared that this would be » indicated by the way in which they should wash their heads and » bodies and wear the articles of jade from their girdles. Five of » them accordingly washed their heads and bodies, and suspended » the objects of jade from their girdles; but Shih Khi-tszĕ said: » 'Whoever, being in mourning for his father or mother, washed » his head or his body and wore girdle-pendants of jade?' — and » he refused to do either, and thus was indicated by the oracle as » the right man. The people of Wei opined that the tortoise had » shown wisdom" [2].

This removing the ornaments from the body in times of mourning is the more significant, if we keep in view that in those ages it was implicitly prescribed by the laws of morals that such things should be worn from the girdle when not in mourning. » Without some good cause", says the *Li ki* (ch. 6, l. 40), »the » ruler of a state does not remove the objects of jade from his » body [3] ... And (ch. 43, l. 6 and 13) anciently, men of rank did » not neglect the wearing of objects of jade as girdle-pendants .... » it being an established rule to have objects of jade hanging from » the girdle, except only during the time of mourning ... Men of » rank never remove the objects of jade from their body without » some good cause" [4]. In the *Lun yü* we find it stated as one of the characteristics of the holy Confucius that »this noble man, when » he put off mourning, wore again the appendages of the girdle, » none excepted" [5].

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1 Seventh century before our era.

2 石駘仲卒、無適子、有庶子六人。卜所以爲後者、曰沐浴佩玉則兆。五人者皆沐浴佩玉、石祁子曰、孰有孰親之喪而沐浴佩玉者乎。不沐浴佩玉、石祁子兆。衛人以龜爲有知也. Sect. 檀弓, II, 2.

3 君無故、玉不去身. Sect. 曲禮, II, 1.

4 古之君子必佩玉。。。凡帶必有佩玉、惟喪否。。。君子無故、玉不去身. Sect. 玉藻, III.

5 君子去喪無所不佩. Chapter X, 6.

Entire self-denudation for the benefit of one's parents having once attained to the highest possible form of devotion and respect, we can easily understand why it has become customary in China for those who have to appear before superiors, to wear plain and inexpensive garments as symbolizing such self-denudation. »In some »ceremonial usages", says the *Li ki* (ch. 34, l. 32), »plainness is the »sign of dignity. The deepest respect admits of no ornaments" [1]. As a proof that this is not an idle maxim without influence upon China's religious system, we note the fact that, from the most ancient times down to the present day, the emperors are always dressed in an unembroidered fur gown of a plain dark colour [2] while performing the sublimest religious ceremony of the State, viz. the sacrifice to Heaven, the highest divinity of the Pantheon.

From the Han dynasty downward, the entire mourning system of China, inclusive of the mourning dresses, has always been regulated by rescripts and information contained in the *I li* and the *Li ki*, and, to a very small extent, by some other Classics. The two first mentioned works in particular abound with rescripts to such an extent that a simple compilation thereof would fill a volume; and this fact alone is a sufficient proof that wearing mourning was one of the most important institutions of social life during the Cheu dynasty. No other subject is treated in these works with a like minuteness of detail. In the *I li* the data are arranged quite systematically, so as to form a special section, entitled: On Mourning Dress [3], subdivided into four chapters, the 22nd., 23rd., 24th. and 25th. of the Khienlung edition. In the *Li ki*, however, they are scattered over the work in bits and fragments, which renders some of them totally valueless, as it is impossible to arrange them in their proper sequence; most of them are found in the section T'an kung [4], in the Record of Smaller Matters in Mourning Dress [5], in the second part of the Miscellaneous Records [6], in the Questions about Mourning

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1 禮有以素爲貴者。至敬無文. Sect. 禮器, I.

2 A so-called khiu 裘.

3 喪服.

4 檀弓; this comprises chapters 9 to 14 of the Khienlung edition.

5 喪服少記, embracing chapters 45 and 46 of the Khienlung edition.

6 雜記, chapters 55 and 56 of the Kh. edition.

Dress [1], in the Intercalated Traditions [2], and in the Four Principles underlying Mourning Dress [3]. The data supplied by each of the two works are similar on many points, even to the wording; we are almost tempted to suppose that the *I li* has cast into a systematical digest what is distributed in a disorderly manner over several chapters of the *Li ki*. In our exposition of the mourning system of ancient China we shall therefore take as our principal guide the aforesaid chapters of the *I li*, and further select such extracts from the *Li ki* as may serve to throw light on our subject.

Seeing that, in ancient China, mourning was in point of fact a renunciation of all property for the benefit of the dead and that such renunciation was not carried out with a like degree of rigidity for every deceased kinsman, it naturally follows that mourning dress was deepest for the nearest relations, and less so for kinsmen more removed. It was subdivided into five degrees, denoted by the following names, generally used with the same meaning in all the works of both ancient and modern literature:

The first or highest degree, for the nearest relatives, is called 斬衰, chan-ts'ui, »the shabby coat which is cut off roughly"; it might therefore be styled »the shabby coat with ravelled edges".
The second degree is called 齊衰, tsi-ts'ui, »the shabby coat the edges of which are cut even".
The third degree 大功, ta-kung, »material of coarse fabric".
The fourth degree 小功, siao-kung, »material of finer fabric".
The fifth degree 緦麻, szĕ-ma, »finespun hemp".

Particulars about these 五服, »five sorts of dressing", as they are generally styled both in books and in ordinary life, will be given in this section of this chapter, under separate headings. In point of fact there always existed a few other degrees; but they were only regarded as subdivisions of the five. »Mourning", says the *Li ki* (ch. 70, l. 62), »consists of many things, but the mourning dress consists of five degrees" [4].

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1 服間, forming a part of the 70th. chapter of the Kh. edition.

2 間傳, a part of the 70th. chapter of the Kh. edition.

3 喪服四制, the 77th. or last chapter of the Classic.

4 喪多而服五. Sect. 服間.

As their names indicate, each of these degrees was connected with a special dress, which was the poorer in proportion as the relationship to the defunct was closer. Moreover, there was prescribed for each degree a certain mode of dwelling, the poorness of which was similarly graduated; we have seen this already on page 482, from a passage quoted from the *Li ki*. In a corresponding manner there was prescribed for each of the five degrees a special regimen of fasting: »In mourning for a father or mother", says the *Li ki* (ch. 71, l. 5), »when the coffin has been stored away »in the hall, the mourners eat rice gruel made of a handful of »rice in the morning, and the same quantity in the evening. In »the second degree the mourners take their food at long intervals »and drink water, not touching vegetables or fruit. In the third »degree they (may take vegetables and fruit, but) must abstain »from pickled food; in the fourth degree and in the fifth they »do not drink must or spirits. These are the manifestations of »sorrow in drinking and eating" [1]. Furthermore, for each degree of mourning there was prescribed a peculiar mode of speaking and conversing. »In the first degree of mourning", we are told in the same chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 4), »the mourner merely shows that »he has heard what is said to him, but does not answer in words. »In the second degree he answers, but does not enter upon a »conversation. In the third degree he converses, but without dis»cussing. When mourning in the fourth or fifth degree, he may »discuss, but not take pleasure therein. These are the manifest»ations of sorrow in speech" [2]. Finally we may add that the death-howl also had to be ejaculated in five different ways, the one more, the other less piteous, according to the degree of mourning of the howler; a passage of the *Li ki* showing this has been inserted on page 259. That such gradations in each of the principal mourning usages were for the greater part merely theoretical, is self-evident;

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[1] 父母之喪既殯食粥、朝一溢米、莫一溢米。齊衰之喪疏食水飲、不食菜果。大功之喪不食醯醬、小功緦麻不飲醴酒。此哀之發於飲食者也. Sect. 閒傳.

[2] 斬衰唯而不對。齊衰對而不言。大功言而不議。小功緦麻議而不及樂。此哀之發於言語者也. Sect. 閒傳. Also in chapter 77, l. 15; sect. 喪服四制.

yet the fact of their being formally prescribed by Chinese moralists clearly proves that they considered all these forms of self-denial and abstinence to be most intimately linked together.

We will now subject the five degrees of mourning, as they were observed in ancient China, to a closer inspection.

The first degree.

An explanation of the name »shabby coat which is cut off roughly", by which, as we have seen, this degree of mourning is generally denoted, is given by the *I li*. The so-called Traditions [1], being passages interspersed by way of explanatory notes betwixt the text of the section on Mourning Dress in that book [2], say: »What is »the meaning of the term cut off roughly? It means that the dress »has no hems" [3]. That is to say, the breadths of which the coat was made were ravelled along the edges, or, as Ngao Ki-kung expresses it in the commentary, »were not trimmed or cut even" [4].

Of what the dress of the highest degree of mourning consisted is fully set forth by the *I li* in the following words: »A shabby »coat and skirt, both roughly cut off; a headband and waistrope »of the female hempen plant and a staff adorned with female hemp; »a twisted girdle; a cap with a rope for a tassel; shoes of kien

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1 傳.

2 These Traditions, which we shall often have to refer to in this chapter, are for the greater part as valuable for obtaining a knowledge of ancient China as the text of the *I li* itself. Kia Kung-yen says, it is uncertain to whom the authorship must be attributed, but that in his time it was generally believed they were from the hand of Tszĕ-hia, one of the principal contemporary disciples of Confucius, mentioned on page 258. No other section of the *I li* possesses such Traditions. Ngao Ki-kung calls attention to the fact that they are also interpolated between the several passages of the »Records" 記, which form the last part of the 25th. chapter of the *I li*, and that therefore they are probably of a younger date than these Records, so that, as the latter are generally attributed to the later disciples of Confucius, the theory that Tszĕ-hia wrote the Traditions necessarily falls to the ground. Without a doubt, continues Ngao, they once formed a separate work and were split up for distribution in the *I li* by some scholar of a more modern period; perhaps Ching Khang-ch'ing may have been the man (see the introductory notice to chapter 22 of the Khienlung edition of the *I li*). We may further note that such Traditions are inserted also in the 70th. chapter of the *Li ki*, in the section entitled: Questions about Mourning Dress, 服問.

3 斬者何。不緝也. Chapter 22, l. 9.

4 不齊(劑).

» grass" [1]. The Traditions add to this the following explanations: » The headband and the waistrope of the female hempen plant » are of the hempen plant which bears seed. That headband is so » thick that it can scarcely be grasped by the hand; on the left » side the roots of the plant hang down. The waistrope is made » of a quantity of hemp which is by one fifth smaller than that » of the headband" [2]. The reason why the hemp for the headband and the waistrope was taken from the female stalks, is undoubtedly to be found in the circumstance that these stalks give broader and coarser strips of fibre than the slender male stalks, for the articles for the deepest mourning had to be of the coarsest possible make. It is by no means clear from the above description how the headband looked, and the fact that the Khienlung editors give three different pictures of it, respectively in the *I li*, the *Li ki* and the *Cheu li*, is a sufficient proof that they were far from sure of its shape.

» The staff adorned with female hemp", so the Traditions continue, » is of bamboo; the staff (carried in the second degree of » mourning) which is scraped smooth, is of the wood of the T'ung » tree (see page 302). Each is so long as to be on a level with » the heart, and is carried with the root downward. Who carry » staffs (in ordinary circumstances of life)? High dignitaries. And » who that are not such dignitaries nevertheless carry a staff? » Those on whom a leadership is incumbent. And who, although » no leaders, carry a staff? Those who support themselves because » of sickness or infirmity. Why does not a boy carry a staff? Be- » cause he is incapable of making himself ill. And why do not » women carry a staff? Also because they cannot make themselves » ill" [3]. It is likewise said in the *Li ki* (ch. 77, l. 9): » Women » and boys do not carry a staff because they are not able to make

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[1] 斬衰裳、苴絰杖、絞帶、冠繩纓、菅屨者. Chapter 22, l. 6.

[2] 苴絰者麻之有蕡者也。苴絰大搹、左本在下。去五分一以爲帶. Chapter 22, l. 10.

[3] 苴杖竹也、削杖桐也。杖各齊其心、皆下本。杖者何、爵也。無爵而杖者何、擔主也。非主而杖者何、輔病也。童子何以不杖、不能病也。婦人何以不杖、亦不能病也. Chapter 22, l. 11 and 13.

» themselves ill" [1]. These passages explain the object connected with carrying mourning staffs so well, that it is quite superfluous to refer to the *Li ki*, which says (ch. 70, l. 37): » When some one » asks: 'What does a person who carries a staff do with it?' the » answer is: 'When a filial son loses his father, he howls and » weeps without regard to times or numbers, and in mourning » exercises himself till in the third year; his body becomes ill » thereby and emaciated, so that he makes use of a staff to support » his infirmity" [2]. Consequently, the staff stood in close connection with the rigid fasting which we have shown was imperatively prescribed for mourners in those ancient times.

The Traditions continue as follows: » The twisted girdle is a girdle » in the shape of a rope. The rope-like tassel of the cap is a single » piece of rope affixed to the cap; it is sewed on at the right side. » The material of which the cap is made is of six shing of » threads; its lower border is folded upwards, so as to come against » the outside, and the material is washed, but not with ashes" [3]. Commentators say that the rope of the cap served to fix the latter on the head by winding it over or around it in some way or other. The meaning of the term shing will be explained on page 498. Finally the Traditions say: » As to the shoes of Kien » grass — the Kien is the Fei; the ends of the stalks are bent » over against the outside and inserted in the shoes(?)" [4]. We do not believe that the Kien or Fei have ever been determined with certainty by European botanists.

Female mourners wore » a linen band in their hair and a pin of » the arrow-bamboo, and they coiled their hair up into a knot. The » Traditions say this band was made of six shing of threads » and was six inches long, and that the hairpin had a length of one » foot, while the hairpins usually worn were two inches longer" [5].

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1 婦人童子不杖、不能病也. Section 喪服四制.

2 或曰、杖者以何爲也、曰、孝子喪親哭泣無數、服勤三年、身病體羸、以杖扶病也. Sect. 間喪.

3 絞帶者繩帶也。冠繩纓條屬、右縫。冠六升、外畢、鍛而勿灰. Chapter 22, l. 15 and 16.

4 菅屨者菅菲也、外納. Chapter 22, l. 19.

5 布總、箭笄、髽。傳曰、總六升、長六寸、箭笄長尺、吉笄尺二寸. Chapter 22, l. 47 and 49.

Scarcely any particulars are given in this part of the *I li* about the principal articles of mourning attire, viz. the shabby coat and the skirt. The Records, however, supply us with the following details.

» As for the shabby coat, the edges of the breadths of which it » is made as a rule peep out on the outside (from the seams); » on the skirt, however, they peep out on the inside. Each » breadth of the skirt has three folds (converging upon the » middle of the body)" [1]. Taking notice now of what has been adduced concerning those garments on page 493, it follows that the edges of each breadth were visible everywhere in the coat, not only along all the borders, but also along the seams; in the skirt, however, they were visible along the borders only, and not along the seams, unless the garment were turned inside out. The vertical folds made in the skirt had evidently no other object than to make it fit around the waist. Khiu Siün [2], who lived in the fifteenth century, held that the front part of the skirt consisted of three long widths sewed together, the back part, however, of four widths connected with one another in like manner, but that the two pieces, formed in this way, were not sewed together on the sides of the body.

» The extra piece of cloth", continues the *I li*, »which is affixed » (under the neck) upon the back, is only so broad as to remain » at a distance of one inch from the pieces which are affixed on » the shoulders. These shoulder-pieces are four inches broad, and » do not reach unto the piece which is sewn on the breast; » this piece is six inches long by a breadth of four inches. The » part of the coat that comes below the waistrope is one foot (of » ten inches) long; that which is above the waistrope is two feet » and two inches. The sleeves are as broad as a full width of cloth, » and the cuffs are one foot two inches wide. The pieces hanging » down from the sides of the body measure two feet five inches" [3]. These pieces were, according to Ching Khang-ch'ing, hung over

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1 凡衰外削幅、裳內削幅。幅三袧. Chapter 25, l. 53.

2 邱濬.

3 負廣出於適寸。適博四寸、出於衰(繐)、衰長六寸、博四寸。衣帶下尺、衣二尺有二寸。袂屬幅、祛尺二寸。衽二尺有五寸. Chapter 25, l. 54—62.

the splits which, as we have seen, were left in the skirt at the sides of the legs; it is not impossible, however, that the lapel of the coat folding over the breast is meant, the pieces being denoted by the character 衽, jen, which, as has been said already on page 286, also signifies a lapel.

Although the above description, if read carefully, will suffice to convey to the reader a tolerably fair idea of the deepest mourning costume of ancient China, yet it will no doubt be much better understood after a perusal of the description, inserted in the latter part of this section of this chapter, of the mourning dress as it is worn in China at the present day, the people still fashioning it after that of antiquity. It is now incumbent upon us to look for information regarding the material of which the deep mourning garments were anciently made.

On page 493 it has been stated that the bark of the female hempen plant was specially designated for making the headband and the waistrope. The same product was also used for making the deep mourning clothes; for in the *Li ki* (chapter 71, l. 1) we have this passage: »Why do people who are in the mourning of the » shabby coat with ravelled edges wear a dress of hemp of the female » plant? Because this hemp has an unpleasant appearance, so that » it places the inner feelings in the foreground and renders them » outwardly visible. The appearance of mourners in the first degree » is like that of this hemp; that of mourners who wear a shabby » coat of which the edges are not ravelled is, however, like that » of the male hemp"[1]. Fang Kioh[2], a renowned scholar who lived during the Sung dynasty, says that from this last clause we may infer that the dresses for all the four lower degrees of mourning were made of male hemp, none of them having ravelled edges. There is nothing in the ancient books to contradict this view, and even the slightest mourning was, as shown on page 491, called that of »finespun *hemp*".

The same chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 8) gives also some particulars about the texture of the material of which mourning clothes were made. »That for the first degree was of three shing of threads, that » for the second of four, five and six; that for the third was of seven,

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[1] 斬衰何以服苴。苴惡貌也、所以首其內而見諸外也。斬衰貌若苴、齊衰貌若枲. Sect. 閒傳.

[2] 方慤.

» eight and nine, that for the fourth of ten, eleven and twelve, and » that for the fifth of fifteen shing less the half"[1]. Commentators say unanimously that a shing contained eighty-one weaving threads, which assertion of itself does not make us much wiser; but, fortunately, the *Li ki* (ch. 54, l. 6) states that »court robes were made of fifteen shing of threads"[2], and whereas such garments may be supposed to have been well spun and of a fine texture, the inference is obvious that the material for the first degree of mourning, which was made of three shing only, must either have been woven from very thick threads, too thick in fact to produce a textile fit for use as clothing, or, which is more probable, must have been made of threads placed so far apart that it looked like a coarse sort of hempen gauze, such as is now still widely used all over China for sacks of the cheapest kind. The name sack-cloth being thus peculiarly appropriate to it, we shall henceforth often make use of this term.

The *Li ki* itself does not give any reason why there were prescribed three separate numbers of shing for the material for the second, third and fourth degrees of mourning. Probably this, as Ngao Ki-kung demonstrates, was connected with the changes made in the dresses of those degrees at fixed times, as will be explained hereafter, and also with the fact that in some of the degrees the material for the coat and the cap was different; besides, the material may have varied also for different individuals in the same degree or sub-degree, and so on. But this matter is of too little importance to entitle us to follow Ngao Ki-kung in his hair-splitting disquisitions.

The deepest mourning is also denoted in Chinese works by the name of »three years' mourning"[3]. This term does not imply that it lasted exactly three years, but means a mourning lasting till into the third year after death. »The three years' mourning elapses after twenty-five months"[4], says the *Li ki* (ch. 71, l. 22). It was divided in four periods, respectively characterized by a change

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[1] 斬衰三升、齊衰四升五升六升、大功七升八升九升、小功十升十一升十二升、緦麻十五升去其半. Sect. 間傳.

[2] 朝服十五升. Sect. 雜記, I, 2.

[3] 三年喪.

[4] 三年之喪二十五月而畢. Sect. 三年問.

made in the attire, a change which was a real improvement. The same chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 11) says on this head: »When (after » the great sacrifice which follows after the burial) the hempen » attire (described in the above pages) is put off, the mourners dress » in garments made of the Dolichos plant, wearing also a triple » girdle of the same material. At the end of one year (after death), when » the Lesser Sacrifice of Felicity has been offered, they put on a » cap of well finished silk and wear an (inner) garment with hems » of pale red silk, retaining, however, the waistrope. When another » year has elapsed and the Great Sacrifice of Felicity has been » performed [1], they wear (a cap of) plain undyed silk and put on » a hempen gown. After an interjacent month comes the sacrifice » which concludes the mourning, and after this occasion neater » garments are worn with all the customary appendages of the » girdle"[2].

About the slighter mourning which, as this extract shows, was assumed when the burial was completed, the *Li ki* still has in the same chapter (l. 11): »The deep mourning dress of the first degree » is made of three shing of threads, but when the great sacrifice » which follows after the burial has been performed and the period » of wailing is ended, it is exchanged for a better finished material » made of six shing, while the cap is then of a material of » seven shing"[3]. The *I li* too says: »The shabby coat is made of » three shing or three shing and a half, the cap of six shing; » they replace the material of the coat by that of the cap, and » exchange that of the cap for one of seven shing"[4]. And as to the dress assumed at the end of one year, the *Li ki* (ch. 11, l. 42) says: »When well finished silk is assumed, the (inner) garment is » likewise of such silk and has a yellow lining and hems of pale » red silk; the waistrope is then of Dolichos, the shoes are fastened

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1 For these sacrifices comp. page 481.

2 去麻服葛、葛帶三重。期而小祥練冠綠緣、要絰不除。又期而大祥素縞麻衣。中月而禫、禫而纖、無所不佩. Sect. 閒傳.

3 斬衰三升、既虞卒哭受以成布六升、冠七升. The same section.

4 衰三升三升有半、其冠六升。以其冠爲受、受冠七升. Chapter 25, l. 63.

» by hempen cords, but without strings at the points, and the ear-» plugs are of horn" [1]. »The cap of well finished silk, which » plays a part in the three years' mourning", adds another chapter (54, l. 5), »has also a rope affixed to it (like the cap » worn before that time, comp. page 495), which is sewed on at » the right side" [2].

The three years' mourning is generally estimated in China to embrace a period of twenty-seven months, or, more exactly speaking, to last till into the twenty-seventh month after death. To understand this well, it should be kept in view that it is a general custom amongst the Chinese people to include in the number of hours, days, months or years which have elapsed since a certain event, also the hour, day, month or year wherein or whereupon the event has occurred. Hence, according to this method, the second anniversary of death falls in the twenty-fifth month; as — we have seen on the last page by an extract from the *Li ki* — there lay between this day and the final close of the mourning an entire month, that is to say, the full period falling between one new moon and the next [3], the ultimate term of mourning must necessarily fall in the twenty-seventh month. That entire month, we have likewise seen on the last page, is called by the *Li ki* 中月, »interjacent month". But this term may, without doing any violence to the language, be considered to mean also a lunar period of twenty-nine or thirty days not necessarily beginning with a new moon. Hence the end of the mourning might be twenty-five months from the date of the decease, and this explains why (see page 498) the *Li ki* also says that the three years' mourning elapses after twenty-five months. The question which of the two readings ought to be accepted as the right one has been a matter of controversy between scholars and literati since very early times. We learn from the Books of the Sung Dynasty [4] that this was already the case when the first emperor of that House ascended the throne in the year of our Lord 420, and it has cropped up again very frequently in succeeding ages. As a rule, however, the opinion that the deepest

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1 練、練衣黃裏緣、葛要絰、繩屨無約、角瑱. Sect. 檀弓, I, 3.

2 三年之練冠亦條屬、右縫. Sect. 雜記, I. 2.

3 A Chinese month always begins on the first day of the new moon.

4 Chapter 15, l. 15.

mourning should last twenty-seven months has prevailed, so that the present legislators of the Empire have officially adopted it as the right one and prescribed the said period in the Codices of Laws and Rites as the correct time.

Of course one might ask for what reason the deep mourning should embrace either twenty-five or twenty-seven months. Nowhere do Chinese books give any satisfactory answer to this question. In the 71st. chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 25 and 26) we come across a passage which looks like a faint attempt at solving the riddle; it runs as follows: »This being the case, how is it that one has » arrived at the mourning period of one year? The answer is: Be- » cause the closest relationship is broken off after one year. How is » this? Heaven and Earth have then undergone one metamorphosis, » the four seasons having run through their changes; those who » live betwixt Heaven and Earth, no person excepted, begin their » existence anew, and the mourning is made to resemble this. This » being the case, how is it that a mourning of three years has been » instituted? The answer is: From a wish to exalt the dead still » higher the time has been doubled, so as to embrace two years"[1]. This sort of argument cannot be said to be very persuasive, as it leaves us entirely at a loss concerning the additional month. The pathetic, but rather frivolous explanation reported by the *Li ki* (chapt. 71, l. 29) to have been given by Confucius, is equally worthless: » A child quits the bosom of its parents in the third year after » its birth, and therefore the three years' mourning is a mourning » universally observed under the heavens"[2]. The wisest answer to this question is, we think, that given by one of the many unknown authors of the *Li ki*, who said (ch. 71, l. 28): »The » three years' mourning is the greatest ornament of human behaviour » and may accordingly be called the most pre-eminent of acts; all » the sovereigns have followed one and the same line of conduct

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[1] 然則何以至期也。曰、至親以期斷。是何也。曰、天地則已易矣、四時則已變矣、其在天地之中者莫不更始焉、以是象之也。然則何以三年也。曰、加隆焉爾也、焉使倍之、故再期也. Sect. 三年問.

[2] 予生三年然後免於父母之懷、夫三年之喪天下之達喪也. Sect. 三年問. See also the *Lun yü*, XVII, 21.

» in regard to it, and both the ancients and the moderns have done » so too; but to this day no one knows its origin" [1].

The two last quotations fully entitle us to conclude that, in ancient China, the three years' mourning occupied a very important place amongst the institutions of social life. This is confirmed by sundry other passages in classic works, a couple of which we will place before our readers. »Tsai Ngo (a disciple of Confucius), asking » about the three years' mourning, said: 'One round year is long » enough, for, if a man of higher order abstain from all ceremonial » observances during three years, those observances are certainly » cancelled, and if he abstains from music during so long a period, » it is inevitably a ruin to music; therefore one ought to be allowed » to cease mourning at the end of a year'. Whereupon the Sage » retorted: 'If (at the end of that time) you were to eat (good) » rice and to wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?' » 'Yes', rejoined the other. 'If you can feel at ease', replied » Confucius, 'do so' .... Tsai Ngo then going out, the Sage said: » 'This shows Yü's (*i. e.* Tsai Ngo's) lack of human feeling. A » child does not quit its parents' bosom until in the third year of » its age, and therefore the three years' mourning is a mourning » prevailing everywhere under heaven; and has not Yü too enjoyed » three years of affection on the part of his parents?' " [2].

Confucius stood by no means alone in his doctrines on the importance of mourning. The crown-prince of the state of T'ing [3] having at his father's death sent a messenger to Mencius, to ask his advice with regard to the mourning duties he ought to observe, this philosopher told the emissary: »I have heard

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[1] 故三年之喪人道之至文者也、夫是之謂至隆、是百王之所同、古今之所壹也、未有知其所由來者也. Sect. 三年問.

[2] 宰我問三年之喪、期已久矣、君子三年不爲禮、禮必壞、三年不爲樂、樂必崩、期可已矣。子曰、食夫稻、衣夫錦、於女安乎。曰、安。女安則爲之。宰我出、子曰、子之不仁也。子生三年然後免於父母之懷、夫三年之喪天下之通喪也、予也有三年之愛於其父母乎. *Lun yü*, XVII, 21.

[3] 滕.

» that the mourning of three years and the trimmed plain gar- » ments (of the four lower degrees), as also the eating of rice » gruel, are observed by every one, from the Son of Heaven » down to the common people, and that these things have all » been observed during the three dynasties (of Hia, Shang and » Cheu)" [1]. In conclusion we may quote here a passage of the *Li ki* (chapt. 77, l. 13) which is to this effect: »As for that three years' » mourning, the sages did not exceed that period, and those who » were no match for the sages were not allowed to fall short of it. » The said period being the proper and invariable time for these » rites, the ancient sovereigns have always maintained it as such" [2].

That the mourners of the first degree had to live in abodes of a most miserable description, has been set forth already on page 482. It is there also stated that, at the end of each of the four periods into which their time of mourning was subdivided, those abodes might be gradually improved, just as in the case of the garments. The rescripts on such mourning sheds, contained in the *Li ki*, which have been cited on pages 482 *seq.*, are not the only ones that occur in the ancient books. The *I li* also has: »They dwell in sheds reared against the wall, » sleeping on straw or matting, with a clod of earth for a pillow. » They wail there during the day and the night without regard » to times, slubber rice gruel made of a handful of rice in the » morning and of a like quantity in the evening, and do not » put off their headband and waistrope while sleeping" [3]. Neither, says Kia Kung-yen, did they then put off their mourning cap and mourning clothes, these being worn underneath that headband and waistrope. »After the great sacrifice which follows immediately upon » the burial, the walls are clipped and posts and lintels fitted in » the sheds; the mourners then have mats to sleep on, eat coarse

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[1] 吾嘗聞之矣、三年之喪、齊疏之服、飦粥之食、自天子達於庶人、三代共之. The works of Mencius, sect. 滕文公, I.

[2] 此喪之所以三年、賢者不得過、不肖者不得不及。此喪之中庸也、王者之所常行也. Sect. 喪服四制.

[3] 居倚廬、寢苫、枕塊。哭晝夜無時、歠粥、朝一溢米、夕一溢米、寢不說絰帶. Chapter 22, l. 20—22.

» food and drink water, wailing once only in the morning and » once in the evening. And when (on the completion of the first » year) well finished silk is assumed, they take up their abodes in » the outer back apartments, commencing then to eat vegetables and » fruit, taking plain food, and wailing without regard to times" [1].

Mention must still be made in a few words of a mourning custom prevalent in ancient China, viz. that of abstaining from cleansing the head and the body until the third month, including that in which the death had taken place. This being also a form of abstinence implying renunciation of comfort and ease, it took a first rank among the mourning usages already described in the present chapter. On page 489, in giving the episode concerning the selection of Shih Tai-chung's successor as chief of the family, it was touched upon; moreover, it is mentioned twice in the 77th. chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 5 and 16) as »a washing of the head after three months" [2], and the 55th. chapter of the same Classic (l. 35) says: »During the mourning of the four highest degrees » one neither washes the head, nor the body, except for the sacri- » fice which follows immediately after the burial, for placing the » tablet in the shrine, and for the Sacrifice of Felicity when well » finished silk is assumed" [3]. Combing the hair was still forbidden on the first of these three occasions, it being said in the *I li*: »At the » sacrifice which follows upon the burial, the mourners bathe, but » do not comb their hair" [4]. Finally the *Li ki* has (ch. 4, l. 29): » The ceremonies to be observed when in mourning require that, » if a man have a wound on his head, he should wash his head, » and if he have a sore on his body, he should bathe his body" [5], which doctrine is preached a second time elsewhere in the same

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[1] 既虞翦屏柱楣、寢有席、食疏食水飲、朝一哭、夕一哭而已。既練舍外寢、始食菜果、飯素食、哭無時. Chapter 22, l. 22 and 23.

[2] 三月而沐. Sect. 喪服四制.

[3] 凡喪小功以上、非虞附練祥無沐浴. Sect. 雜記, II. 1.

[4] 虞浴不櫛. Chapter 33, l. 1.

[5] 居喪之禮頭有創則沐、身有瘍則浴. Sect. 曲禮, I, 4.

work [1] in the shape of a rescript of Confucius, by which this Sage tried to deter mourners from aggravating their voluntary emaciation and uncleanliness to such a pitch that sickness or death might ensue.

It is here the proper place to note also, that Confucius objected to mourners of the first degree paying visits of condolence to other people who, like themselves, had sustained a loss by death. In chapter 27 of the *Li ki* (l. 10) we read: »Tseng-tszĕ asked: 'May » one go to condole with others while wearing the three years' » mourning?' To which Confucius answered: 'In that mourning it » is not allowed to stand with others or to move in a crowd » even after the well finished silk has been assumed, for superior » people observe the ceremonial usages in order to give expression » to their feelings in a correct manner. Besides, would not condol- » ing with others while in the three years' mourning be an empty » form?'" [2]. In truth, as Ching Khang-ch'ing remarks, »if such » a mourner makes visits of condolence, he laments for others and » consequently does not devote himself exclusively to his own deceased » parent, while, on the other hand, if he really laments his parent, » condoling with others becomes insincere" [3]. The *Li ki* says, however, in another place (ch. 55, l. 29) that »in the three years' » mourning it is permitted to condole with others when the well » finished silk has been assumed" [4], that is, as the reader knows, at the end of one year.

One chief point has still to be stated: — for which relations had the mourning of the first degree to be worn anciently? The best answer to this question is a translation of a list of kinsmen from the 22nd. chapter of the *I li*, and a reproduction of some of the explanatory notes interpolated in that list under the name of Traditions:

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1 Chapter 55, l. 35, being the section 雜記, II, 1.

2 曾子問曰、三年之喪弔乎。孔子曰、三年之喪練不群立、不旅行、君子禮以飾情。三年之喪而弔哭不亦虛乎. Sect. 曾子問, II.

3 三年之喪而弔哭、爲彼哀、則不專於親、爲親哀、則是妄弔也.

4 三年之喪練則弔. Sect. 雜記, II, 1.

1. » For a father. The Traditions say: Why is the mourning dress » of the first degree worn for a father? Because a father is the » highest person in authority.
2. » The feudal lords wear it for the Son of Heaven. The Traditions » say: The Son of Heaven is the highest authority.
3. » For a feudal ruler. The Traditions say: Because a ruler is the » highest person in authority.
4. » By a father, for his eldest son by the principal wife (the » Continuator of his family).
5. » An adopted Continuator of the family (wears it for his adoptive » father). The Traditions say he must do so also for the parents » and the principal wife of his adoptive father, and for that » wife's parents, brothers and brothers' sons, just as if he » were a son by blood"; but this clause has incurred the severe criticisms of Kia Kung-yen as putting some members of another clan on the same level as those of one's own, and subsequent scholars have steadily rejected its authenticity. It is probably not arranged in its proper place in the *I li*.
6. » The principal wife wears it for her husband. The Traditions » say: Her husband is for her the highest authority.
7. » A concubine wears it for her master. The Traditions say: » Because her master is for her the highest authority.
8. » A daughter still living in the paternal home wears it for her » father.
9. » A daughter who, after having been married out, has been » divorced and dwells in her paternal home must wear the » three years' mourning for her father" [1].

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1 (1) 父。傳曰、爲父何以斬衰也。父至尊也.
(2) 諸侯爲天子。傳曰、天子至尊也.
(3) 君。傳曰、君至尊也.
(4) 父、爲長子.
(5) 爲人後者。傳曰、爲所後者之祖父母妻、妻之父母昆弟、昆弟之子、若子.
(6) 妻、爲夫。傳曰、夫至尊也.
(7) 妾、爲君。傳曰、君至尊也.
(8) 女子子在室、爲父.
(9) 子嫁、反、在父之室、爲父三年.

For those who wish to obtain some knowledge of domestic life in ancient China the above list is unquestionably of great importance and interest. It affords a clear insight into the organization of the family in those bygone days, revealing also some chief principles and customary laws which obtained therein. Let us try to sift out its full meaning on this point.

At the head of the family stood the father, the *paterfamilias*, »the highest person in authority". For him in the first place all the children living in the house had to wear the highest degree of mourning, that is to say, they had theoretically to sacrifice everything to him, and to manifest in this way the highest feelings of devotion and submission that could be shown towards an elder. Daughters, however, if married out, were exempt from such marks of filial affection, for, according to a rule already strictly enforced in those times, people belonging to the same clan were forbidden to intermarry, and hence a daughter who left the paternal home to settle in the clan of her husband, ceased to be considered a member of the family in which she had been born. As in pre-Christian Rome, so in ancient China *mulier est finis familiæ*; this rule still holds good there to the present day. But immediately a woman was repudiated by her husband and had returned to her former home, she came again under the full authority of her father and, in consequence thereof, had to mourn for him in the highest degree, the same as her brothers and unmarried sisters. No such distinction between the married and unmarried sons was necessary. Indeed, their marriage did not withdraw them from the paternal authority, as it did not separate them from the ancestral home: they remained settled in the same place with their wives, to assist in forming the family into a powerful clan, able to protect its members against all the dangers and emergencies of life. »Father and sons", say the Traditions, »are one body, and so are husband and wife, elder »brothers and younger brothers. Consequently, the father and his »sons form the head and the feet (of the family), husband and »wife the two halves united, and the brothers the four limbs. »And on this account it is the duty on the part of brothers not »to separate from one another" [1].

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[1] 父子一體也、夫妻一體也、昆弟一體也。故父子首足也、夫妻牉合也、昆弟四體也。故昆弟之義無分. *I li*, chapter 23, l. 22.

Not only the sons, and all the daughters living in the house, but also the one principal wife and the concubines of the *paterfamilias* had to observe the highest degree of submission and devotion towards him, he being for them likewise, as the Traditions say, »the highest authority" naturally to be mourned for at his death in the first degree. This order of things confirms the conclusion that the rescripts on mourning were brought into existence in the first place with a view to giving solidity to the doctrine of absolute submission to the highest chief of the family, and were affected only in a secondary degree by kinship and reciprocity; indeed, a husband was bound to mourn for his wife only in the second degree (see page 515, no. 6), and for a concubine not at all.

This submission and devotion due to those in authority in the family, is the renowned hiao, a sacred duty incumbent upon everybody, to which we have already repeatedly referred in this work. The written form of the word is 孝, and may originally have been intended to represent a child or youth (子) underneath an elder (考 or 老). It did not imply in ancient China the observance of duties to parents alone, but denoted also obedience and devotion towards the chief of the state. »'If, in serving his Ruler, » a man be not loyal, or if, holding an official position, he be not » respectful towards his superiors, he is not possessed of hiao', said » Tseng-tzĕ" [1], according to the *Li ki* (ch. 61, l. 28). This Classic also states (ch. 65, l. 32) that, on a certain occasion, »Confucius » said: 'The Ruler is served with observance of hiao, and elders » are served with such submission as is due from a younger brother » to his elder brothers, which shows that the people should make » no distinction' " [2]. Finally, we read in the last chapter (l. 4) of the *Li ki*: »The same readiness with which we serve our father we » should employ in serving our Ruler, and the reverence must be the » same for both. To honour those who are in a high position » and to respect those who are in authority is our first duty; and

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[1] 曾子曰、事君不忠、非孝也、涖官不敬、非孝也. Sect. 祭義, II.

[2] 子云、孝以事君、弟以事長、示民不貳也. Sect. 坊記.

» therefore the mourning of the highest degree is worn also for a » Ruler until the third year" [1].

It has, in fact, always been a political principle in China that every state, and above all the Empire itself, is to be regarded as the extension of one family, and the authority of its ruler as the extension of the authority of a *paterfamilias*. This tenet is generally expressed by the formula 天下爲一家, »the whole world is one single family". Now it needs no demonstration that, as the list in the *I li* informs us, the highest form of mourning was to be worn in ancient China by feudal princes for the Son of Heaven, their supreme liege-lord, and that for these lieges it had to be assumed by their ministers. As a *paterfamilias* in his domestic circle, so a liege-lord in the midst of his liegemen, and a liege-man in the midst of his officers was »the highest authority", as the Traditions express it; and hence the *I li* is perfectly correct in allotting to the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords a place immediately after the father, in its list of persons to be mourned for in the highest degree.

This list discovers much more that is highly instructive in reference to ancient Chinese family life. In the first place it shows that a pre-eminent position was held by the eldest son of the principal wife, a position so high that even his own father had to mourn for him at his death in the selfsame degree in which the son was bound to mourn for his father, while for the other sons by the principal wife the father mourned only in the second degree, as may be seen on page 517 (no. 13). The reason of this is fully explained by the Traditions. »Why is the three years' » mourning worn for him? He is the lineal embodiment of » the ancestors upwards and, moreover, the man on whom the » important charge (viz. the worship of the ancestors) will devolve. » A man who is not himself an eldest son by the principal wife » does not observe the three years' mourning for his eldest son by » the principal wife, because this son is not the Continuator of » the ancestral line" [2]. Accordingly, any man who was a chief

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[1] 資於事父以事君而敬同。貴貴尊尊義之大者也、故爲君亦斬衰三年. Sect. 喪服四制.

[2] 傳曰、何以三年也。正體於上、又乃將所傳重也。庶子不得爲長子三年、不繼祖也. Chapter 22, l. 36.

lineal heir-son regarded his own eldest heir-son as the embodiment of his own parents, and wore for him on this account the same highest degree of mourning as he would wear for them. And his consort too had to mourn for that son for three years, as shown in the fourth clause of the list given on page 513.

Seeing that through such a chief lineal heir-son the soul and spirit of the ancestors could be made to settle in the home from generation to generation; — seeing, moreover, that he was deemed an indispensable link in the chain of descendants through which an everlasting continuation of sacrifices was to be secured on behalf of those ancestors, the good will and protection of whom the family could never dispense with, and that his own father and mother also reckoned upon enjoying those sacrifices after their death — then it is certainly not to be wondered at that such a Continuator, as we shall henceforth style him for brevity's sake, was esteemed by the family as a treasure that could not be too highly prized. The importance of having a Continuator in the family being generally recognized, it naturally gave rise to a system of adopting one in case the principal wife had no son; such an adopted Continuator is formally admitted by the *I li* in the list of mourners of the first degree (no. 5). He having to mourn for his adoptive father in the highest degree, just as if he were a son of his own flesh and blood, his place in the family in regard to the duties of submission and devotion was entirely that of a genuine child.

The adoption of a Continuator was determined by a few rescripts, which have been incorporated with the text of the *I li* as Traditions. They run as follows. »What conditions must he fulfil to »be adopted as a Continuator? He may be adopted as such »if he belongs to the same clan. And what conditions must »he fulfil to be given to another in adoption as a Continu»ator? He must be a son of a side branch in his family"[1] — in other words, he must on no account be an eldest son by the principal wife, such a Continuator being so indispensable to his own family and their ancestors that nothing could ever justify his being given away to others. That he should belong to the same clan means, that both he and his adoptive father should be able to trace

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[1] 何如而可爲之後。同宗則可爲之後。何如而可以爲人後。支子可也. Chapter 22, l. 40 and 41.

their line of ancestors to one common progenitor whose worship has not yet been discontinued; for by a clan or tsung (宗) is to be understood an agglomeration of households, including both the deceased and the living generations, which derive their origin from one common ancestor.

The second degree.

We must now turn our attention for a few moments to the second degree of mourning observed in ancient China, and to the persons who had to wear it, which will afford us an opportunity of learning further particulars about the organization of the family in those times.

According to the *I li*, the attire must consist of the following articles. »A shabby coat and skirt, both of plain coarse material, » the edges of which are cut off even (comp. page 493); a headband » of the male hempen plant; a cap with a tassel of linen; a staff » scraped smooth; a girdle of linen; shoes of plain and coarse » material. The Traditions say: The headband of male hemp has » the roots of the plant upwards on the right side; the cap is of » coarse fabric, and the plain coarse shoes are of Piao and » Khwai rushes" [1].

That the hemp of which the dress for this degree of mourning was made was produced by the male stalks of the plant and that the texture contained four, five or six shing of threads, has been stated already on page 497. The texture having thus about one fourth or one third of the number of threads that were woven into material used for court robes (comp. page 498), it must, like the cloth for the first degree, have been open-worked, gauze-like sackcloth, though of a better quality. The *I li* further says that, »when the edges of mourning clothes are cut even" (which was, as has been set forth on page 497, the case in each of the four lower degrees), » the edges peep out of the seams on the inside of the skirt, and, on the coat, on the outside" [2]. For the rest, the cut and make did not probably differ from the garments for the first degree,

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[1] 疏衰裳、齊、牡麻絰、冠布纓、削杖、布帶、疏屨。傳曰、牡麻絰右本在上、冠者沽功也、疏屨者藨蒯之菲也. Chapter 22, l. 58 and 59.

[2] 若齊、裳內、衰外. Chapter 25, l. 54.

nothing particular on this head being recorded in the books. The cap was of a better material than the other parts of the attire, for the *I li* states that »the coat with even edges was made with »four shing of threads, but the cap belonging to it of a material »of seven shing" [1].

The hempen ropes worn respectively around the head and the waist were subjected to a regular reduction of one fifth of their volume for each lower degree. »The headband worn with the dress »of even-cut edges", says the *I li*, »is as thick as the waistrope »of the first degree, and the waistrope worn with it has four »fifths of the volume of the headband. In the third degree, the »headband has the same volume as the waistrope of the second »degree, and the waistrope is then one fifth thinner than the »headband. In the fourth degree, the headband has the volume »of the waistrope of the third, and the waistrope is one fifth »thinner than the headband. And in the fifth degree, the head- »band is just as thick as the waistrope of the fourth, and the »waistrope then has the same volume as the headband, less one »fifth" [2].

To the mourning attire of the second degree belonged also a staff of T'ung wood, scraped smooth, but boys and women were exempt from carrying it. This has been said already on page 494. Apart from boys and women, many mourners in the second degree, a list of whom will be found on pages 517 *et sqq.*, had to abstain from its use.

That the mourners in this degree had to dwell in unplastered apartments we need only cursorily mention here, this matter having been dealt with already on page 482.

According to the *I li* [3], the mourning thus described had to be worn till in the third year, that is to say, for the same twenty-seven months as were prescribed for the first degree, for the following relatives:

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1 齊衰四升、其冠七升. Chapter 25, l. 64.

2 齊衰之經斬衰之帶也、去五分一以爲帶。大功之經齊衰之帶也、去五分一以爲帶。小功之經大功之帶也、去五分一以爲帶。緦麻之經小功之帶也、去五分一以爲帶. Chapter 22, l. 11.

3 Chapter 22, l. 60 *et sqq.*

1. »For a mother, if the father had pre-deceased her.
2. »For a step-mother, the same as for one's own mother.
3. »For a foster-mother, the same as for one's own mother.
4. »A mother (who is the principal wife of her husband) must »wear it for the Continuator" [1].

This short list, when properly analyzed, will also be found to contain valuable contributions to our knowledge of ancient Chinese family life, as depicted in its principal features on pages 507 *et sqq.* The reader knows (see page 508) that both the principal wife and the concubines had to show to the *paterfamilias* the highest degree of submission and devotion, the same as the children living under the paternal roof. Which fact might easily lead one to suppose that they stood on a footing of equality with the children in the hierarchy of the family, if the above list did not afford proof that such was far from being the case; indeed, it teaches us that each child had to mourn for its mother just as long as for the *paterfamilias* if the latter had pre-deceased her, that is to say, if his *patria potestas* had devolved upon her. Yet the mourning dress was slighter by one degree, which indicates that the maternal rights were considered as standing one degree lower than the paternal rights, though next to them. In the event of the mother dying prior to her husband, her children had to mourn for her in one stage lower of the same degree, as may be seen on page 515, sub no. 5.

Let us note by the way that the institutions of ancient China allowed a man to have only one wife proper, but as many concubines as he thought fit, and that this continues to be the rule to the present day. The word wife or consort will henceforth be used by us in the sense of wife proper, who may also be styled the principal wife, or the *materfamilias*.

That the mourning rescripts were based in the first place upon the duty of being submissive to the chiefs of the family, and that the ideas about ties of blood played merely a secondary part in them, is rendered specially conspicuous by the precept that a child must mourn for its step-mother in just the same degree as for its own mother. Such a woman having been raised by the father to the rank of *materfamilias* in the place of his deceased or divorced

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1 (1) 父卒則爲母. (2) 繼母如母. (3) 慈母如母. (4) 母、爲長子.

wife, the children of the latter had to acquiesce in the change. They had no right to enquire whether they had ever enjoyed her love and affection, nor whether she were older than themselves. They had simply to manifest towards her the highest degree of submission, obedience, respect and devotion, the same as was due from them to the very authoress of their being, while on the other hand they might mourn for their own divorced mother merely for one year, or not at all (see page 516, no. 7), because she had gone back to her own clan and consequently no longer exercised any authority over her children. »The Traditions say: Why is a step-» mother mourned for like a mother proper? Whereas his step-» mother is married to his father on the same footing as his » mother was, a son who understands his duty of manifesting hiao » will not dare to make any distinction" [1].

We must now for a moment devote our attention to the third clause in the list. It informs us that, in case a motherless child by a concubine were adopted by another concubine of the same *paterfamilias*, the last named woman acquired full maternal power over the child. »The Traditions say: If a father who has a » childless concubine and also a motherless child by a concubine, » commands the concubine, saying: 'Consider this child as thy » own', and the son, saying: 'Consider this woman as thy mother', » then the son must, until she dies, take the same care of her » during his life as if she were his own mother, and must » mourn for her after her death till in the third year, as if she » were his own mother — out of respect for his father's commands" [2]. From this passage we also see that the authority of a *paterfamilias* extended so far as to empower him to appoint to any of his childless concubines the son of another concubine for her maintenance, unless the child's own mother were alive to countermand herself being dispossessed in such wise of her maternal rights.

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[1] 傳曰、繼母何以如母。繼母之配父與因母同、故孝子不敢殊也. Chapter 22, l. 63.

[2] 傳曰、妾之無子者、妾子之無母者、父命妾曰、女以爲子、命子曰、女以爲母、若是、則生養之終其身如母、死則喪之三年如母、貴父之命也. Chapter 22, l. 63 and 64.

In by far the majority of cases the mourning of the second degree lasted no longer than a year. As in the first degree, the attire was then improved after a time: »In the one year's mourning", says the *Li ki* (ch. 55, l. 28), »well finished silk is assumed in the eleventh month" [1]. Probably this change of dress was similar to that which took place at the end of a year in the mourning of the highest degree (see page 499).

In this mourning, it was allowed to pay visits of condolence to other people who had sustained a loss by death, for it is written in the *Li ki* (chapter 55, l. 30): »When any one who is in »the one year's mourning goes to offer condolence to a fellow »villager yet ere his own dead has been committed to the grave, »he retires after having gone through the wailing, without waiting »for the other proceedings" [2]. From this we may almost conclude with certainty that visits of condolence were not subject to any restriction in the four lower degrees of mourning.

The following list, borrowed from chapter 23 of the *I li*, shows which were the persons for whom the mourning of the second degree was worn till the end of one year:

5. »For a mother, when the father is still alive" [3]. The reason why she was not mourned for in the first degree, like a father, is given by the *Li ki* (chapter 77, l. 5) in the following words: »There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns »in a country, nor two rulers in a state, nor two highest »authorities in a family. Only one person rules the family; »hence, while the father is alive, the mourning of the »second degree is worn for the mother during one year, in »order to show that there are no two highest authorities in »a family" [4].
6. »For the wife" [5]. A proof that such a relation was really mourned

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1 期之喪、十一月而練. Sect. 雜記, II, 1.

2 期之喪、未葬弔於鄉人、哭而退、不聽事焉. Sect. 雜記, II, 1.

3 (5) 父在、爲母.

4 天無二日、土無二王、國無二君、家無二尊。以一治之也、故父在、爲母齊衰期者、見無二尊也. Sect. 喪服四制.

5 (6) 妻.

for in the second degree is afforded by the following episode related in chapter 14 (l. 4) of the *Li ki*: »After the death »of the mother of (his son who became) the ruler Tao, the »ruler Ngai wore for her the mourning of the second degree. »Yiu-joh asked him whether it was consistent with the rites »to wear such mourning for a concubine, upon which the »other retorted: 'Can I help it? The people of Lu consider »her to have lived with me on the footing of a wife" [1].

7. »Sons by the wife, if she has been divorced, have to »wear it for their mother, but he who is the Continuator »does not wear any mourning for her. The Traditions say: »Such sons wear the one year's mourning for their mother, »but no mourning at all for her parents; for no mourning »is worn for people who belong to a clan with which con- »nections have been broken off, except for her with whom »one is intimately connected by ties of blood. (The Continuator, »however), being one and the same body with the chiefs of »his family, may not venture to wear mourning for his own »mother.

8. »When after its father's death a child's step-mother re-marries, »and the child follows her into her new home, it has to »wear this mourning for her. The Traditions say: Why does »it then wear the one year's mourning? Because it has to »appreciate the favour of having been allowed to dwell to- »gether with her to the end" [2].

The same mourning dress, but »without a staff, and with hempen shoes" [3], had to be worn in the following cases:

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[1] 悼公之母死、哀公爲之齊衰。有若曰、爲妾齊衰禮與、公曰、吾得已乎哉、魯人以妻我. Sect. 檀弓, II, 3.

[2] (7) 出妻之子、爲母。出妻之子爲父後者則爲出母無服。傳曰、出妻之子爲母期、則爲外祖父母無服。傳曰、絶族無施服、親者屬。與尊者爲一體不敢服其私親也. Ch. 23, l. 10—12.

(8) 父卒、繼母嫁、從、爲之服。傳曰、何以期也。貴終也.

[3] 不杖麻屨者.

9. »For paternal grandparents.
10. »For paternal uncles and their wives.
11. »The Continuator of a Great officer wears this mourning for »his wife (if his father is still alive).
12. »For a brother, either older or younger than one's self.
13. »For all one's sons by either wife or concubines, excepting the »Continuator, (he having to be mourned for in the first degree, see page 506, no. 4).
14. »For the son of a brother" [1]. In chapter 10 of the *Li ki* (l. 60) it is said: »The mourning dress for the son of a brother is the same as that which is worn for one's own son" [2].
15. »A Great officer's sons both by wife and concubines wear »this mourning for their brother who is the Continuator of »the family.
16. »For a grandson who is the Continuator of his family. The »Traditions say: He whose Continuator is still living has no »grandson who is a Continuator" — which means that, as long as the eldest son by the wife proper was alive, his eldest son by the wife proper had not yet attained to the rank of Continuator. For it was a social law that, in case a Continuator pre-deceased his father, his next brother was appointed in his stead and was succeeded at his death by his eldest son by the wife proper.
17. »A son who has been given in adoption to another family »as Continuator has to wear this mourning for his own »parents [3].
18. »A woman who has been married out as a wife has to wear

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1 (9) 祖父母.
(10) 世父母、叔父母.
(11) 大夫之適子、爲妻.
(12) 昆弟.
(13) 爲衆子.
(14) 昆弟之子.

2 喪服兄弟之子猶子也. Sect. 檀弓, I, 2.

3 (15) 大夫之庶子、爲適昆弟.
(16) 適孫。傳曰、有適子者無適孫.
(17) 爲人後者、爲其父母.

» it for her own father and mother, and for her brother » who is her father's Continuator.

19. » For one's step-father, if living in his house.

20. » For the Ruler in whose service one's husband is.

21. » For each paternal aunt, sister or daughter who has been » married out as wife, but who possesses no descendants to » worship her soul. Such aunts and sisters wear the same » mourning reciprocally (for their nephews and brothers)". So this was merely a mourning out of commiseration. When the deceased aunt or sister left a son or grandson, mourning was then worn for her in the third degree (see page 523, no. 3).

22. » (By ministers), for the parents, the wife, the Continuator » and the paternal grandparents of their Ruler.

23. » A concubine must wear this mourning for her master's wife,

24. » and a married woman for her husband's parents.

25. » For a son of one's husband's brother.

26. » A concubine of a feudal ruler or of a Great officer has to » wear it for her sons.

27. » A female (either married or unmarried) must wear this mourn- » ing for her paternal grandparents [1].

28. » The son of a Great officer has to wear it for all his pa- » ternal uncles and their wives and sons; further for his own » brothers and their sons; for his paternal aunts, sisters, or » daughters in so far as they have no descendants to sacrifice » to their soul, or are the wives of Great officers. The said

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1 (18) 女子子適人者、爲其父母、昆弟之爲父後者.

(19) 繼父同居者.

(20) 爲夫之君.

(21) 姑姊妹女子子適人無主者。姑姊妹報.

(22) 爲君之父母、妻、長子、祖父母.

(23) 妾、爲女君.

(24) 婦、爲舅姑.

(25) 夫之昆弟之子.

(26) 公妾、大夫之妾、爲其子.

(27) 女子子、爲其祖父母.

» sons excepted, they must all wear the same mourning for him » reciprocally. The Traditions say: By a Great officer is here to » be understood such a one whose son is a Great officer too.

29. » A Great officer has to wear it for his paternal grandparents, » and for his eldest grandson by the wife proper if he be an » ordinary officer". In the first case it is tacitly understood that the mourner's father is still alive, and in the second, that his sons by the wife are dead: comp. no. 16.

30. » The concubines of a feudal ruler and of a magnate down to » the rank of an ordinary officer wear this mourning for their » own parents" [1].

The same mourning was in the following cases worn for three months only:

31. » By a ruler, for his host with whom he has found a shelter. » The Traditions say: What is to be understood by such a » ruler? A ruler who has lost his terrritory".

32. » By each married man and woman, for the clan-son and for » the mother and wife of the same". A clan-son was the oldest lineal descendant of the eldest son by the wife proper. » Why » is the mourning of the second degree worn for him for » three months? the Traditions ask. To honour the ancestors » (whose embodiment he is, comp. page 509). While his » mother is still alive, no mourning is worn for his wife [2].

33. » For the ruler in whose service one formerly was, and for

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1 (28) 大夫之子、爲世父母、叔父母、子、昆弟、昆弟之子、姑姊妹女子子無主者、爲大夫命婦者。唯子不報。傳曰、大夫者其男子之爲大夫者也.

(29) 大夫、爲祖父母、適孫爲士者.

(30) 公妾以及士妾、爲其父母.

2 (31) 寄公、爲所寓。傳曰、寄公者何也。失地之君也.

(32) 丈夫婦人、爲宗子、宗子之母妻。傳曰、何以服齊衰三月也。尊祖也。宗子之母在、則不爲宗子之妻服也.

» the mother and the consort of the ruler in whose service » one actually is.

34. » By the people, for the ruler of the state.

35. » When a Great officer dwells abroad, his consort and his » Continuator wear this mourning for the ruler of the state in » which he used to live.

36. » For one's step-father, if not living with him in the same » dwelling (comp. no. 19).

37. » For paternal great-grandparents.

38. » By a Great officer, for the clan-son,

39. » and for the ruler in whose service he has been (in case he » has honourably retired from office); further, like the common » people, for his paternal great-grandfather and great-grand- » mother, if the former was an ordinary official;

40. » and by his daughter, whether or not yet married (to a » Great officer), for her paternal great-grandparents" [1].

Besides giving a fair insight into what was understood in ancient China to be parentage in the second degree, the above list embraces many particulars concerning family life, which may be sifted with advantage by the student whose special branch it is, but the details hereof would carry us too far away from our subject. As an instance of what we may learn from this list, let us take the 19th. and the 36th. clauses. These show that it was not unlawful, nor by any means unusual, in those times for widows to re-marry. » The » Traditions say: In case a married man dies, leaving a widow » who is still young and, besides, a son under age who has no » relatives for whom he has to mourn in the third degree — if » then this son move with his mother to the home of some one who » also possesses no such relatives, then this man must erect at

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1 (33) 爲舊君、君之母妻.
(34) 庶人、爲國君.
(35) 大夫在外、其妻長子爲舊國君.
(36) 繼父不同居者.
(37) 曾祖父母.
(38) 大夫、爲宗子.
(39) 舊君。曾祖父母爲士者、如衆人.
(40) 女子子嫁者未嫁者、爲曾祖父母.

» his own expense a domestic temple for the lad and make him » sacrifice there (to his father's manes) every year regularly in » the seasons. The wife, however, shall not venture to take part » in these sacrifices (she being incorporated with the new family and consequently obliged to worship exclusively the ancestors thereof). » If matters be arranged in this way, the step-father » performs his duty, and the lad who lives with him must then » wear for him the coat with even edges for one year; but if » the lad dwell apart from him, though he may have lived in his » step-father's house before he settled down elsewhere at a later » period, he then wears the said coat for three months only" [1]. From this passage we may draw still another conclusion, namely, that in the event of such a boy possessing kinsmen so nearly related to him that he would have had to mourn for them in the third or a higher degree, it was unusual to permit him to go with his widowed mother to a new home. Custom then required those relations to educate him in their own circle. Further it teaches us that any step-father who possessed such relations was forbidden, probably by the spirit of communism of wealth obtaining in clan-life, to dispose of his possessions for the benefit of the ancestral worship of his step-son. The rule that a step-son had to mourn for his step-father in whose house he dwelt in the same degree as for his own mother, decidedly proves that subjection to the chief of the family, under whose authority one lived, played no less important a part in mourning than did the ties of blood. The lad not being his adopted Continuator, the step-father did not exercise the full authority of a *paterfamilias* over him, otherwise the former would have had to mourn for him in the first degree (page 506, no. 5); but he could only claim secondary rights in this case.

Many more proofs could be obtained from this list, and from those which are still to follow, showing that the maintenance of discipline in the family circle and the clan was the principal object aimed at by these mourning customs, and that relationship and ties of

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[1] 傳曰、夫死、妻稚、子幼、子無大功之親、與之適人、而所適者亦無大功之親、所適者以其貨財爲之築宮廟、歲時使之祀焉。妻不敢與焉。若是、則繼父之道也、同居則服齊衰期、異居則服齊衰三月、必嘗同居、然後爲異居. Chapter 23, l. 47 and 48.

blood were only of secondary importance. But our subject does not allow of our entering into these questions too minutely. Let us not, however, too quickly conclude that the mourning rescripts were *exclusively* governed by the prevailing doctrines about submission and devotion to superiors. The list shows that mourning in the same degree was in some cases observed between relatives who stood by no means on the same level in the family hierarchy; for instance, there existed such reciprocity between a married woman and the sons of her husband's brother (nos. 25 and 10); further, between nephews and their paternal uncles (nos. 10 and 14), which is confirmed by the *Li ki*, in which we read (chapt. 11, l. 15): »Hien Tszĕ-so said: 'Wen, the feudal lord of T'ing (in the 4th. »cent. B. C), wore the mourning of the second degree for Ming »Hu, who was his father's younger brother, and the same for »Ming P'i, of whose father he was a younger brother"[1]. Such »reciprocity"[2] of mourning, as the *I li* calls it, has been almost entirely abolished in modern China, as we shall have occasion to show anon.

The third degree.

As has been stated already (page 497), the coat and skirt which were prescribed for this degree of mourning were made of a material of male hemp containing seven, eight or nine shing of threads. The textile consequently was coarse enough to fully justify the name coarse fabric, which was, as has been said on page 491, given to this degree. How thick the headband and the waistrope were may be seen on page 512.

The mourning of the third degree was, according to chapter 24 of the *I li*, worn in the following cases:

1. »For a son or daughter who died between twelve and nineteen »years of age. The Traditions say: Those who do not live to »full eight years are considered to have died an untimely »death for which no mourning is worn[3].

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[1] 縣子瑣曰、滕伯文爲孟虎齊衰、其叔父也、爲孟皮齊衰、其叔父也. Sect. 檀弓, I, 3.

[2] 報.

[3] (1) 子、女子子之長殤中殤。傳曰、不滿八歲以下爲無服之殤.

2. » For each of the following relations, when carried off by » death between twelve and nineteen: — a father's younger » brother; a father's (unmarried) sister and one's own sister or » brother; a son or (unmarried) daughter of one's husband's » brother; a grandson who is the Continuator of the family; » further, by all the sons of a Great officer for their brother » who is the Continuator, and by a feudal ruler or a Great » officer for his Continuator.

» If any person mentioned in the two clauses above dies between » sixteen and nineteen years of age, the mourning is worn for nine » months and a headband with tassel added to the costume; but » if death occurs between twelve and fifteen, it is worn for seven » months only, without such a headband being added.

» In the following cases, the coat and skirt of coarse fabric, to- » gether with the headband of male hemp with tassel, and a » linen girdle, were worn till in the third month, and then ex- » changed till in the ninth month for a coat of the finer fabric » such as was worn in the fourth degree of mourning, and (a head- » band and girdle of) the Dolichos plant:

3. » For a married paternal aunt, a married sister, or a married » daughter (comp. page 518, no. 21).
4. » For a son of a paternal uncle.
5. » By an adopted Continuator, for his own brothers.
6. » For all one's grandsons, except the one who is the Continuator" [1]

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1 (2) 叔父之長殤中殤、姑姊妹之長殤中殤、昆弟之長殤中殤、夫之昆弟之子女子子之長殤中殤、適孫之長殤中殤、大夫之庶子爲適昆弟之長殤中殤、公爲適子之長殤中殤、大夫爲適子之長殤中殤.

其長殤皆九月、纓絰。其中殤七月、不纓絰.

大功布衰裳、牡麻絰纓、布帶、三月受以小功衰卽葛、九月者…

(3) 姑、姊妹、女子子、適人者.

(4) 從父昆弟.

(5) 爲人後者、爲其昆弟.

(6) 庶孫.

he being mourned for in the second degree (page 517, no. 16).

7. » For the wife of one's Continuator.
8. » By a married woman, for her brothers, except the Con- » tinuator,
9. » and for her nephews or nieces.
10. » For one's husband's paternal grandparents, and for his pa- » ternal uncles and their wives.
11. » By a Great officer, for his paternal uncles and their wives, » further for his own sons (except the Continuator), for his own » brothers and brothers' sons, if the deceased was an ordinary » officer.
12. » By all the brothers born of a feudal ruler (who was dead), as » also by all the sons of a Great officer except the Continuator, » for their mother, their wives and their brothers.
13. » By all the persons (mentioned sub 11 and 12), for any » paternal uncle's son who was a Great officer.
14. » For the married daughters of one's husband's brothers.
15. » By the concubines of a Great officer, for all the sons of » their master, except the Continuator.
16. » By a woman, either married (as a concubine to a Great » officer) or not married, for her paternal uncles and their » wives, her paternal aunts, and her own sisters [1].
17. » By a Great officer, his wife or sons, and also by the brothers » of a feudal ruler, for a paternal aunt, a sister or daughter,

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1 (7) 適婦.
(8) 女子子適人者、爲衆昆弟.
(9) 姪、丈夫婦人.
(10) 夫之祖父母、世父母、叔父母.
(11) 大夫、爲世父母、叔父母、子、昆弟、昆弟之子、爲士者.
(12) 公之庶昆弟、大夫之庶子、爲母、妻、昆弟.
(13) 皆爲其從父昆弟之爲大夫者.
(14) 爲夫之昆弟之婦人子適人者.
(15) 大夫之妾、爲君之庶子.
(16) 女子子嫁者未嫁者、爲世父母、叔父母、姑、姊妹.

» in case the deceased was married to a Great officer.
18. » By the ruler of a state, for a paternal aunt, sister or » daughter, if the deceased was married to a ruler" [1].

Between the third degree and the next the *I li* mentions an extra attire, consisting of »a coat and skirt of loose texture and a » headband of the male hempen plant, to be put off when the » burial was completed. It was incumbent upon the Great officers » of a feudal ruler to wear it for the Son of Heaven" [2], that is to say, for seven months, the supreme lords of the Empire being committed to the earth in the seventh month after their demise (see page 264). »The material for this coat was, as the Traditions » assert, a loose texture of finer fabric, such as was used for the » fourth degree of mourning" [3], and, the Records add, »the coat » made of it was of $4^1/_2$ shing of threads, but the cap was of » eight shing" [4].

The fourth degree.

The dress for this degree of mourning consisted, as the *I li* says, of »a coat and a skirt made of a textile of finer fabric, with a waistrope and a headband of cleansed hemp" [5]. That this textile was woven from hemp obtained from the male stalks and contained ten, eleven or twelve shing of threads, as also that the volume of the headband and waistrope was three fifths and two fifths only of that of the corresponding articles belonging to the attire of the first degree, has been stated already on pages 498 and 512 respectively.

According to the 24th. chapter of the *I li* it was worn for five months:

1. » For a father's younger brothers, for a grandson who was the » Continuator of the family, and for a brother — in case

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1 (17) 大夫、大夫之妻、大夫之子、公之昆弟、爲姑、姊妹、女子子、嫁於大夫者.
(18) 君、爲姑、姊妹、女子子、嫁於國君者.

2 繐衰裳、牡麻絰、旣葬除之者。諸侯之大夫爲天子. Chapter 24, l. 45 and 46.

3 傳曰、繐衰者何以。小功之繐也. *Loc. cit.*

4 繐衰四升有半、其冠八升. Chapter 25, l. 65.

5 小功布衰裳、澡麻帶絰. Chapter 24, l. 48.

» the deceased had died between eight and eleven years of » age. Further, by the sons of a Great officer, for their brother » who was the Continuator, for their paternal aunts, and for » their sisters and daughters, likewise if they had been carried » off by death between eight and eleven years of age.

2. » By an adopted Continuator, for his own brothers and pa- » ternal uncles' sons, taken off by death between sixteen and » nineteen.
3. » For a younger brother of one's husband's father, if he had » died between sixteen and nineteen.
4. » For a son or daughter of one's brothers or of one's husband's » brothers, if the dead had departed this life between sixteen » and nineteen.
5. » For a brother's grandsons or granddaughters, who died be- » tween sixteen and nineteen.
6. » By a Great officer, a brother of a feudal ruler, and a Great » officer's son, for a brother, and furthermore for a son who » was not the Continuator, for a paternal aunt, a sister, or a » daughter, in case the deceased had reached an age between » sixteen and nineteen.
7. » By concubines of a Great officer, for each of their master's » sons except the Continuator, if the dead had breathed his » last at an age of from sixteen to nineteen" [1].

For the following category of relations a headband and girdle of the Dolichos plant were assumed in the third month:

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1 (1) 叔父之下殤、適孫之下殤、昆弟之下殤。大夫庶子、爲適昆弟之下殤、爲姑、姊妹、女子子之下殤.

(2) 爲人後者、爲其昆弟、從父昆弟之長殤..

(3) 爲夫之叔父之長殤.

(4) 昆弟之子、女子子、夫之昆弟之子、女子子之下殤.

(5) 爲姪庶孫丈夫婦人之長殤.

(6) 大夫、公之昆弟、大夫之子、爲其昆弟、庶子、姑、姊妹、女子子之長殤.

(7) 大夫之妾、爲庶子之長殤.

8. » For one's paternal grandfather's brothers and their wives, as » also for the sons of such brothers, and for their wives.
9. » For a grandson of one's paternal grandfather's brothers.
10. » For a married daughter of one's paternal uncles, and for » one's own married granddaughters.
11. » By an adopted Continuator, for his married sisters.
12. » For maternal grandparents.
13. » For a maternal aunt and her husband.
14. » For the paternal aunts and sisters of one's husband. The » wives of brothers wear this mourning for each other.
15. » A Great officer and his sons, and also the brothers of a feudal » ruler wear this mourning for the sons of their paternal uncles » and for their own grandsons except the Continuator (if the » deceased were an ordinary officer); they wear it also for their » paternal aunts and their own sisters and daughters, in case » the deceased woman had been married to an ordinary officer.
16. » Concubines of a Great officer wear it for their masters' mar- » ried daughters by other concubines.
17. » For daughters-in-law, except the wife of the Continuator", who was mourned for in the third degree, see page 524, no. 7.
18. » For the parents and sisters of one's father's principal wife.
19. » A ruler's son (if born of the consort) wears this mourning » for his father's concubine who has fostered him" [1].

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1 (8) 從祖祖父母、從祖父母.
(9) 從祖昆弟.
(10) 從父姊妹、孫、適人者.
(11) 爲人後者、爲其姊妹適人者.
(12) 爲外祖父母.
(13) 從母、丈夫婦人.
(14) 夫之姑、姊妹。娣姒婦報.
(15) 大夫、大夫之子、公之昆弟、爲從父昆弟、庶孫、姑、姊妹、女子子適士者.
(16) 大夫之妾、爲庶子適人者.
(17) 庶婦.
(18) 君母之父母、從母.
(19) 君子子、爲庶母慈己者.

The fifth degree.

For this last and slightest degree of mourning the dress was, as its name given on page 491 indicates, made of fine-spun hemp. It was worn for three months only. »Fine-spun fabric, the »Traditions say, is a fabric of fifteen shing, of which half »the number of the weaving threads are pulled out. It means »also a fabric the threads of which have been manipulated, but »upon which no such operation has been performed after the »weaving" [1]. Consequently, whereas a tissue of fifteen shing of threads was used for clothing of good quality (see page 498), the dress for this mourning was of a material of the same sort, but in which the well spun threads stood apart from one another, so as to form a gauze-like, transparent fabric. It accordingly formed a kind of transition from the mourning garments to the dress of ordinary life.

This mourning of the lowest degree was, as the *Li ki* asserts (ch. 47, l. 25), »worn also for relations of the fourth collateral »branch and was the final mourning dress. For the fifth collateral »branch they only bared the upper part of the body and tied »up the hair with a lace, such kinsmen being regarded merely »as people bearing the same family name; and in the sixth branch »the ties of kinship were considered at an end" [2]. This passage satisfactorily solves the question why five degrees of mourning were instituted, neither more, nor less. Indeed, as the lists for the five degrees show, the typical kinsman for whom the mourning of the first degree was worn, was the father (no. 1); that of the second degree was the brother (no. 12), or principal kinsman in the nearest collateral branch descended from the father; that of the third degree was the cousin by the paternal uncle (no. 4), chief kinsman in the second collateral branch issue of the grandfather; that of the fourth was the cousin once removed (no. 9), the kinsman of the third collateral branch issue of the great-grandfather; and that of the fifth degree was the cousin twice removed (no. 1),

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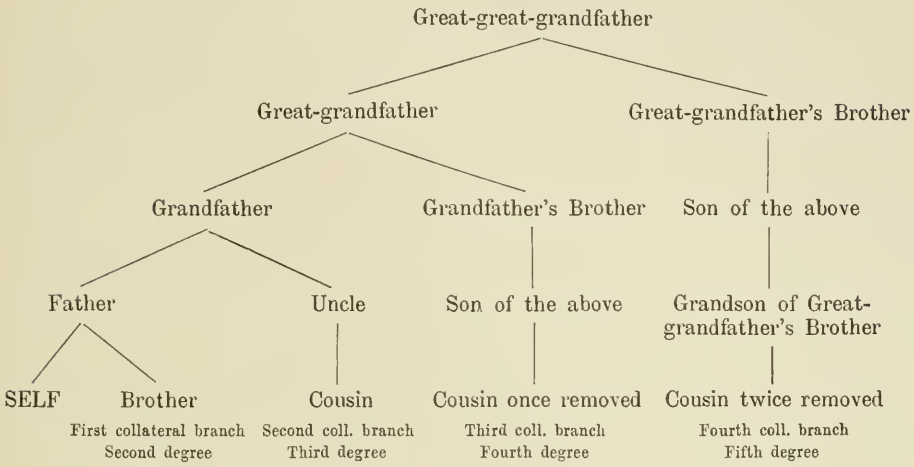
[1] 傳曰、緦者十五升抽其半。有事其縷、無事其布曰緦. *I li*, chapter 25, l. 1. Also chapter 71 of the *Li ki*, l. 8, being the section 閒傳.

[2] 四世而緦、服之窮也。五世袒免、殺同姓也、六世親屬竭矣. Sect. 大傳.

or the relation of the fourth collateral branch descending from the great-great-grandfather. The annexed table will elucidate this.



Only a great-great-grandfather could in the course of nature live long enough to unite these four branches under his patriarchal sway; but that he should live to behold the faces of one generation more was not to be expected, nature having fixed a limit to human life. »Some say", the *Li ki* states (ch. 10, l. 57), »that »those who still eat from the same fire-place wear the last degree »of mourning for each other" [1].

The list of relations for whom the mourning of this degree was worn, is given by chapter 25 of the *I li* as follows:

1. »For one's paternal great-grandfather's brothers and their wives; »for the sons and grandsons of such brothers and the wife of »each of them, as also for their great-grandsons.
2. »For the wife of any grandson, except of him who is the »Continuator.
3. »For any grandson but the one who is the Continuator, in »case death had taken him off between twelve and fifteen [2].

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1 或曰、同爨緦. Sect. 檀弓, I, 2.

2 (1) 族曾祖父母、族祖父母、族父母、族昆弟.
(2) 庶孫之婦.
(3) 庶孫之中殤.

4. » For married daughters and married granddaughters of a » paternal grandfather's brother.
5. » For any son and grandson of a paternal grandfather's brother, » who died between sixteen and nineteen years of age.
6. » For a son of a daughter.
7. » For a son of a paternal uncle, and (by a woman) for her » brother's sons, in both cases if death had occurred between » eight and eleven years.
8. » For a younger brother of one's husband's father, if he had » died between eight and fifteen years of age.
9. » For a maternal aunt who had been taken off by death between » sixteen and nineteen years of age.
10. » The son of a concubine, who had been raised to the rank » of Continuator, wore it for his own mother.
11. » An ordinary officer wore it for every concubine of his father's, » who was not childless.
12. » For a minister of rank and a concubine of rank". It is not stated who the mourning parties were; probably they were the ordinary officers of a ruler. And the parties mourned for were perhaps the ministers or the concubines of such a ruler.
13. » For one's wet nurse.
14. » For the great-grandsons of a paternal grandfather's brother.
15. » For great-grandsons in the male line.
16. » For a paternal grandfather's sisters[1].

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1 (4) 從祖姑姊妹適人者.
(5) 從祖父、從祖昆弟之長殤.
(6) 外孫.
(7) 從父昆弟、姪之下殤.
(8) 夫之叔父之中殤下殤.
(9) 從母之長殤.
(10) 庶子爲父後者、爲其母.
(11) 士、爲庶母.
(12) 貴臣、貴妾.
(13) 乳母.
(14) 從祖昆弟之子.
(15) 曾孫.
(16) 父之姑.

17. » For the sons of a maternal aunt.
18. » For a sister's sons.
19. » For sons-in-law.
20. » For one's wife's parents.
21. » For the sons of a paternal aunt.
22. » For maternal uncles and for their sons.
23. » For the paternal aunts and sisters of one's husband, if they » had died between sixteen and nineteen years of age.
24. » For the brothers of one's husband's paternal grandfather, as » also for their wives, and for their sons by the principal wife.
25. » (By the sons of a concubine), for the brothers of their father's » principal wife.
26. » For the grandsons of a paternal uncle, if death had occurred » at an age between sixteen and nineteen years, and, in the » same case, for a brother's grandsons in the male line.
27. » For the wives of the sons of one's husband's paternal uncles" [1].

Apart from the five categories of mourning, some exceptional attires were in vogue in ancient China for special grandees who were exempt from the ordinary mourning on account of their high position or dignity, and for some relations and circumstances not specified in these lists. It is of no use to place all these cases before our readers. A few will suffice. According to the Records of the *I li*, » the sons of the ruler of a state (the Con- » tinuator excepted), wore for their mother a cap of well finished

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1 (17) 從母昆弟.
(18) 甥.
(19) 壻.
(20) 妻之父母.
(21) 姑之子.
(22) 舅、舅之子.
(23) 夫之姑姊妹之長殤.
(24) 夫之諸祖父母.
(25) 君母之昆弟.
(26) 從父昆弟之子之長殤、昆弟之孫之長殤.
(27) 爲夫之從父昆弟之妻.

» silk, a headband and waistrope of such hemp as was used for » mourning garments of the fifth degree, and a dress of that hemp, » adorned with pink hemmings. For their consorts they wore a » cap of well finished silk [1], a headband and waistrope of Dolichos, » and a hempen dress like the aforesaid, with pink hemmings. In » both cases the attire was put off when the burial was over" [2]. » Friends abiding together in another state mourned for one an- » other by baring the upper part of the body and tying their hair » with a lace; but when they had returned to their native country, » they gave this up. The hempen attire of the fifth degree was » worn for a friend [3], and also while transferring a buried corpse » to another grave" [4].

There are still in the *I li* and the *Li ki* many extra rescripts about mourning, which, however, we shall not reproduce, most of them being too trifling and frivolous for us to waste time and space upon them. The following we mention here as the most important. »When brethern abide together in another state, they » raise the ordinary mourning for each other by one degree. And » for one who has never known his father and mother and has » lived with his brethern, the latter increase their mourning by » one degree. According to the Traditions, by such brethern were » understood all the relatives mourned for in the fourth or the » fifth degree" [5]. Furthermore we read in the *Li ki* (ch. 10, l. 19) that everybody was to consider the rescripts on the mourning dress to be so stringent »that it was better to wear no mourning at » all than not have it of the proper materials" [6]. »At eighty years » of age", says the same Classic (ch. 40, l. 1, and ch. 19, l. 11),

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1 According to Ngao Ki-kung, there is here a misprint in the text; instead of 縓, 練 should be read.

2 公子爲其母練冠、麻、麻衣縓緣。爲其妻縓冠、葛絰帶、麻衣縓緣。皆既葬除之. Chapter 25, l. 27.

3 朋友皆在他邦袒免、歸則已。朋友麻. Chapter 25, l. 35 and 37.

4 改葬緦. Same chapter, l. 44.

5 兄弟皆在他邦、加一等。不及知父母、與兄弟居、加一等。傳曰、小功以下爲兄弟. Same chapter, l. 33 and 34.

6 哀與其不當物也寧無哀. Sect. 檀弓, I, 2.

» one is exempted from fasting and other rites connected with » mourning" [1].

Rescripts which we may not pass over in silence are those which prohibited music, marriage and sexual intercourse for the mourner; further, such as rendered it incumbent upon students and disciples to mourn for their teachers. For regularity's sake we reserve these subjects for a later part of this chapter, to be treated of under separate headings in the third, fourth and sixth sections.

No doubt our readers will have had the question on their lips: Why weary us with these tedious mourning lists of the ancients? Why fill up so many pages with such uninteresting stuff?

We can adduce many reasons. In the first place, the plan followed in this work from the beginning, has been to attempt an exhaustive historical treatment of each subject taken in hand, so that it might form a depository of data, combining everything furnished by native literature and personal investigations *in loco*, which could be useful to science in any respect. And how could we treat of the mourning customs of the Chinese in accordance with this plan, without making a more than cursorily mention of those lists as mere curiosities? In the second place, the lists are a most valuable source of knowledge for the terms anciently used to denote the several relations and degrees of kinship, a source all the more valuable because in most vocabularies, both native and foreign, these terms are for the greater part either conspicuous by their absence, or very inaccurately defined. Furthermore, it is scarcely possible to make a proper study of ancient Chinese family life without taking into account these lists which, as we have demonstrated, are most intimately connected, nay, absolutely bound up with it; and that study may perhaps be furthered and stimulated if Sinologists have the lists before them in their entirety [2].

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1 八十齊喪之事弗及也. Sect. 內則, II, and sect. 王制, V.

2 A translation of the lists in question has been given by De Harlez in his »I-li, Cérémonial de la Chine antique, traduit pour la première fois". Much gratified should we have felt could we have simply referred our readers thereto, and thus spared ourselves much labour. But, to our great regret, we found scarcely a line of that work to be depended on. Correctly speaking, it is no translation, but merely a paraphrase of the *I li* in French, in which the text proper is not reproduced separately, but strangely mixed up with extracts from commentaries written at different periods, some even as late as the Ming dynasty. In concocting this hash, the Louvain professor has allowed himself the fullest liberty

But the last and chief reason, outweighing by far all the others, is that the mourning codex of the *I li*, as we may call the concatenation of rescripts contained in this book, has through all ages exercised a mighty influence upon Chinese society and its organization, because, with modifications and revisions of more or less importance, it has always been used by legislators in assigning to each individual a fixed place in the circle of his family. We now proceed to place this matter in a fuller light.

Our opinion, already stated several times, that mourning rescripts were created in ancient China chiefly to enforce the great principle that subjection and mutual devotion should prevail in the family circle and the clan, is perfectly justified by the register of persons to be mourned for in the five degrees, as given by the *I li*. Indeed, we at once see from it that it mentions chiefly such relatives as were members of the mourner's own clan, either by birth, or by adoption through the act of marriage; this fact will be clear enough from

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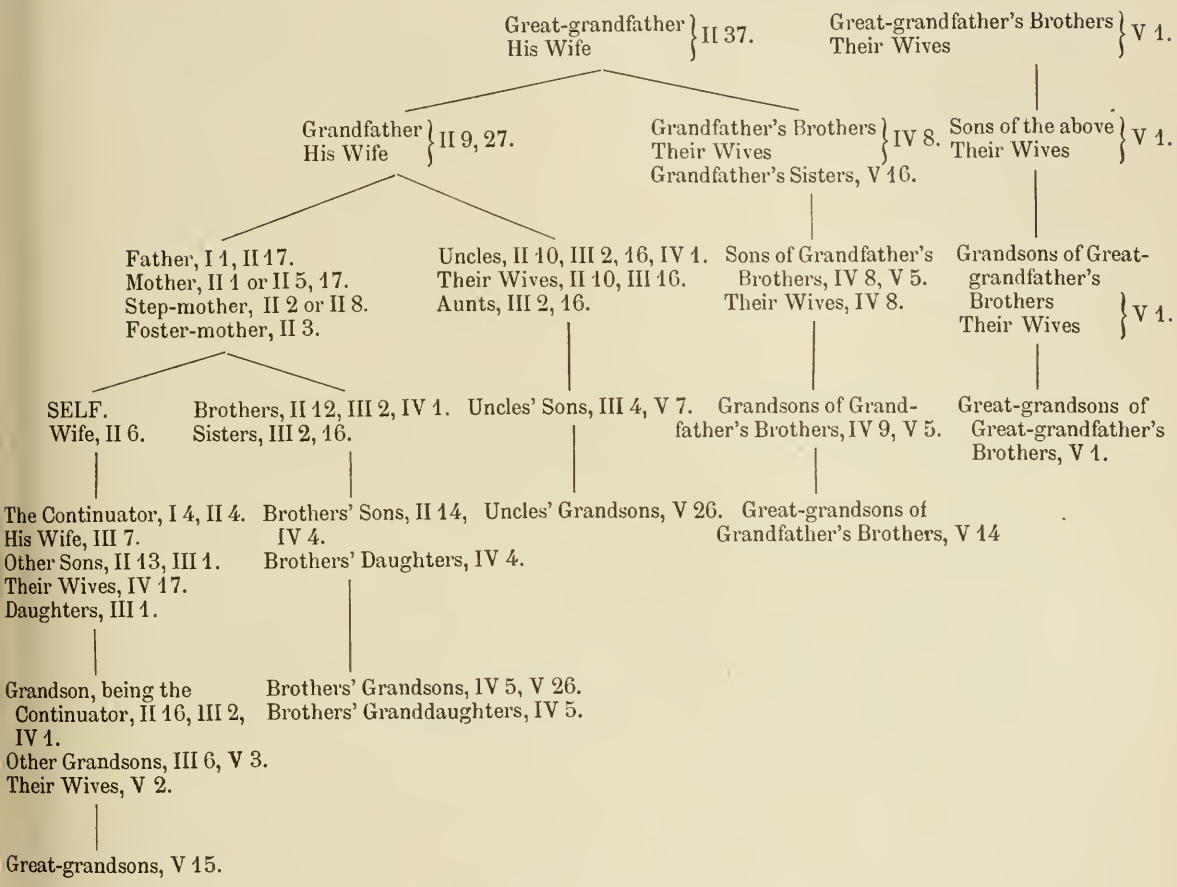
in skipping over characters, or combinations of characters in the original text, filling up the blank in many cases with interpolations evidently spun out of his own brain. Add to this that everything is printed in one and the same type, and that no indication is given as to where the text ends and the commentaries begin, or where M. De Harlez himself is speaking, and the reader will easily understand that we could by no means draw upon his book in compiling this work.

It may hardly sound credible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that of the eighty-six clauses contained in the mourning registers of the four highest degrees, no less than thirty-six are entirely mistranslated by De Harlez, not to mention countless errors and omissions in the remaining fifty. Mistranslations are, moreover, scattered broadcast throughout his book, many parts of it consequently being remarkably ambiguous, confused and incomprehensible. Let any one decipher, if he can, the abstruse lines on page 247, and then compare them with the interesting clauses reproduced on pages 509 *et sqq.* of this work, relating to the position of sons, Continuators and adopted Continuators in the family. Many salient terms which form the centre of gravity as it were of the passages relating to this subject, such as: 爲人後, »to be made another man's successor", that is to say, to become an adopted Continuator; 受重, »to bear the important charge", viz. the ancestral worship, etc. have been entirely misunderstood by De Harlez, or, more correctly speaking, not understood at all, although the commentators upon the Imperial edition have furnished good explanations.

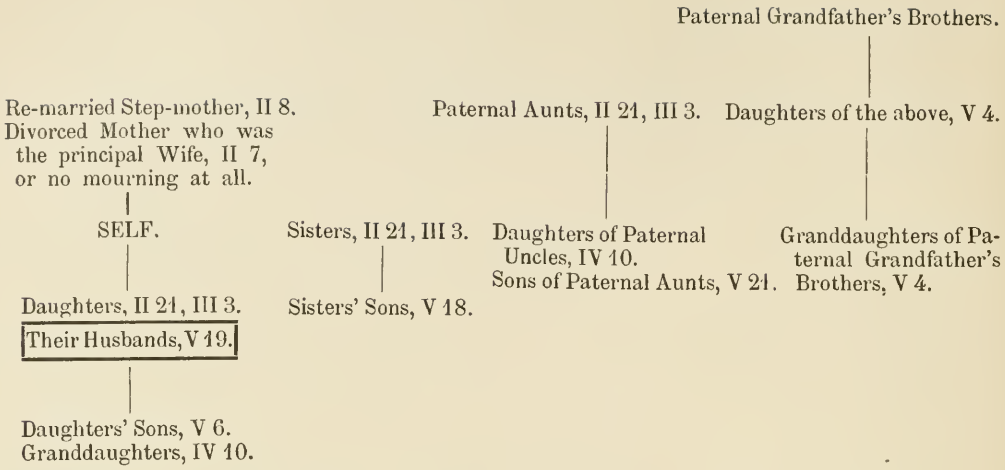
Not being characterized by such a painstaking study of texts and commentaries as a good elaboration of Chinese books requires, De Harlez' work must certainly be regarded as a scientific failure. It is far from deserving a place by the side of Legge's translation of the *Li ki*, or even of Biot's faint attempt to give the world a good translation of the *Cheu li*; and its publication has not in the least degree rendered less urgent the demand of the eminent professor of Oxford: »Is there no Sinologist who will now undertake a complete translation of the I li?" (See Sacred Books of the East, vol. 27, page 5).

the following Table, in which those clansmen are systematically grouped in the form of a genealogical tree. We have indicated therein by Roman numerals the degree of mourning to be worn for each relation, and by Arabian figures the clause of the register referred to.


Great-grandfather
His Wife
II 37.
Great-grandfather's Brothers
Their Wives
V 1.
Grandfather
His Wife
II 9, 27.
Grandfather's Brothers
Their Wives
IV 8.
Grandfather's Sisters, V 16.
Sons of the above
Their Wives
V 1.
Father, I 1, II 17.
Mother, II 1 or II 5, 17.
Step-mother, II 2 or II 8.
Foster-mother, II 3.
Uncles, II 10, III 2, 16, IV 1.
Their Wives, II 10, III 16.
Aunts, III 2, 16.
Sons of Grandfather's Brothers, IV 8, V 5.
Their Wives, IV 8.
Grandsons of Great-grandfather's Brothers
Their Wives
V 1.
SELF.
Wife, II 6.
Brothers, II 12, III 2, IV 1.
Sisters, III 2, 16.
Uncles' Sons, III 4, V 7.
Grandsons of Grandfather's Brothers, IV 9, V 5.
Great-grandsons of Great-grandfather's Brothers, V 1.
The Continuator, I 4, II 4.
His Wife, III 7.
Other Sons, II 13, III 1.
Their Wives, IV 17.
Daughters, III 1.
Brothers' Sons, II 14, IV 4.
Brothers' Daughters, IV 4.
Uncles' Grandsons, V 26.
Great-grandsons of Grandfather's Brothers, V 14
Grandson, being the Continuator, II 16, III 2, IV 1.
Other Grandsons, III 6, V 3.
Their Wives, V 2.
Brothers' Grandsons, IV 5, V 26.
Brothers' Granddaughters, IV 5.
Great-grandsons, V 15.

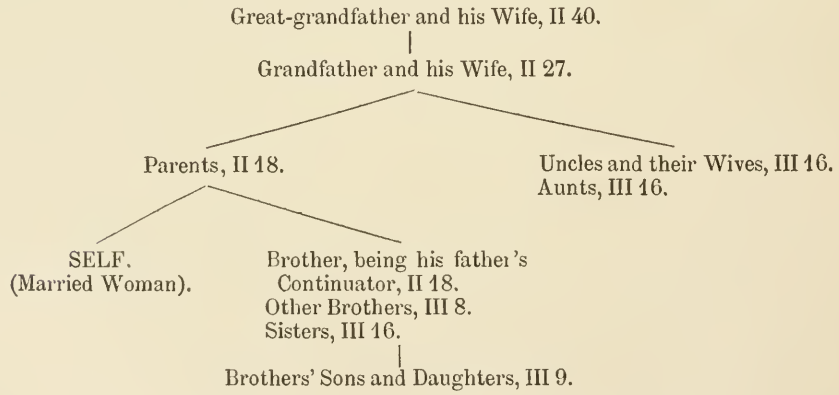
Mourning anciently worn for the Members of Father's Clan, as also by the Women living therein.

On the other hand, mourning for kinsfolk living in another clan, however close their parentage by blood or affinity might be, counted for next to nothing in comparison with that which was to be worn for one's own clan's people. The following Table shows how very little mourning was worn for women who had seceded from the clan in consequence of marriage or divorce, and for their offspring:

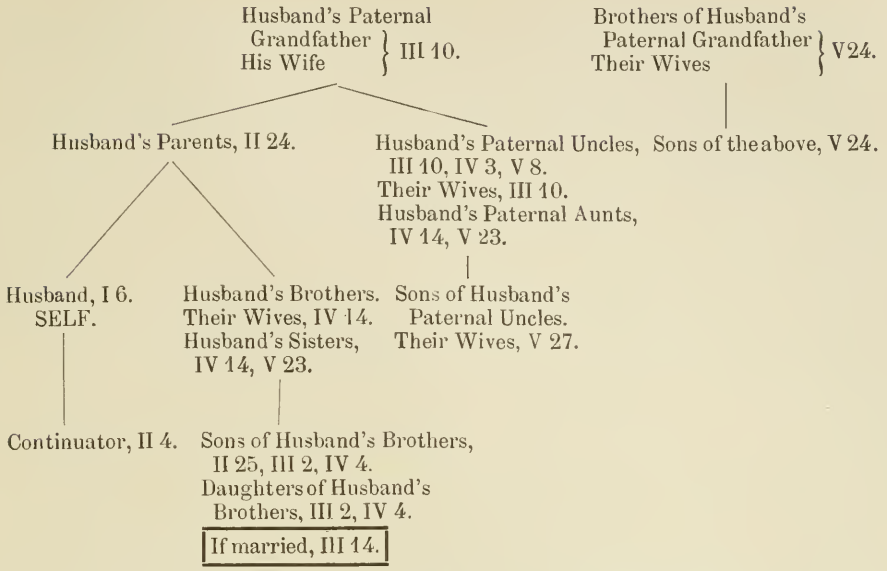

Paternal Grandfather's Brothers.
Re-married Step-mother, II 8.
Divorced Mother who was the principal Wife, II 7, or no mourning at all.
Paternal Aunts, II 21, III 3.
Daughters of the above, V 4.
SELF.
Sisters, II 21, III 3.
Daughters of Paternal Uncles, IV 10.
Sons of Paternal Aunts, V 21.
Granddaughters of Paternal Grandfather's Brothers, V 4.
Daughters, II 21, III 3.
Sisters' Sons, V 18.
Their Husbands, V 19.
Daughters' Sons, V 6.
Granddaughters, IV 10.

Mourning worn in Ancient Times for former Female Members of the Clan, received into other Clans, and for their Offspring.

We see from this that even for its mother a child mourned only one year, or not at all, if she had been divorced from its father, while otherwise it must do so for twenty-seven months. Parents-in-law and their sons-in-law, though most closely connected by affinity, mourned for each other only in the very lowest degree (nos. 19 and 20), not being connected by bonds of clanship. The two following Tables will enable the reader to see at a glance that, on her marriage, a woman ceased almost entirely to mourn for her father's kinsfolks, she renouncing these for her husband's clansmen, whom she had henceforth to consider as her own:


Great-grandfather and his Wife, II 40.
Grandfather and his Wife, II 27.
Parents, II 18.
Uncles and their Wives, III 16.
Aunts, III 16.
SELF.
(Married Woman).
Brother, being his father's Continuator, II 18.
Other Brothers, III 8.
Sisters, III 16.
Brothers' Sons and Daughters, III 9.

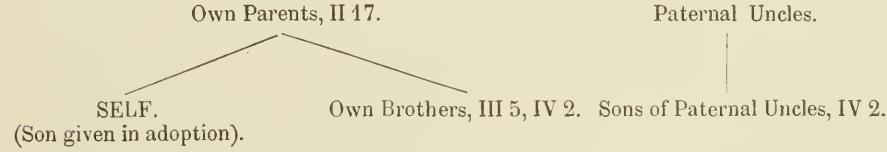
Mourning of a Married Woman for the Members of her Father's Clan.


Husband's Paternal Grandfather His Wife } III 10.
Brothers of Husband's Paternal Grandfather Their Wives } V 24.
Husband's Parents, II 24.
Husband's Paternal Uncles, III 10, IV 3, V 8. Their Wives, III 10. Husband's Paternal Aunts, IV 14, V 23.
Sons of the above, V 24.
Husband, I 6. SELF.
Husband's Brothers. Their Wives, IV 14. Husband's Sisters, IV 14, V 23.
Sons of Husband's Paternal Uncles. Their Wives, V 27.
Continuator, II 4.
Sons of Husband's Brothers, II 25, III 2, IV 4. Daughters of Husband's Brothers, III 2, IV 4.
If married, III 14.

A Woman's Mourning for the Members of her Husband's Clan.

The strongest of all the clauses, that by which the wife is commanded to wear for her husband's parents, of whom she is no blood relation, just the same mourning as for her own parents, tells in favour of our theory as to the chief principle underlying the mourning rescripts.

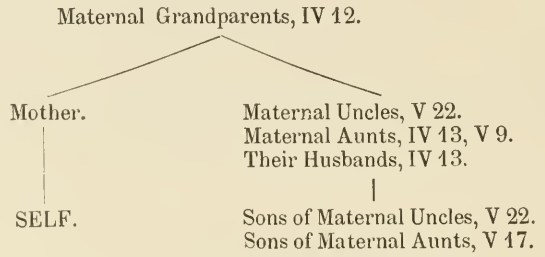
So again, scarcely any mourning was worn for his father's kinsfolks by a man who had been adopted as Continuator by another family, as the following Table shows. Indeed, having left his



An Adopted Mourning Son's for the Members of his own Family.

own family for good, the members thereof had yielded up their authority over him and he need no longer show them any special subjection; but henceforth, as a token of submission and devotion, he had to mourn especially for the family into which he had been received, and which now entirely occupied the place of the family in which he had been born. Finally we insert a Table, in order that the reader may likewise see at a glance that a child was

scarcely required to mourn for its mother's kinsfolk, since they belonged to another clan in consequence of the ancient rule that no marriages might be concluded between people bearing the same clan-name; its mourning for them never extended beyond the two lowest degrees:


Maternal Grandparents, IV 12.
Mother.
Maternal Uncles, V 22.
Maternal Aunts, IV 13, V 9.
Their Husbands, IV 13.
SELF.
Sons of Maternal Uncles, V 22.
Sons of Maternal Aunts, V 17.

Mourning anciently worn for Members of the Clan in which the Mother was born.

Now we understand Confucius better, who on a certain occasion, »when his disciple Tszĕ-kung asked him about mourning, said: »'It is governed in the first place *by respect*; grief comes next to »this, and emaciation is the last'" [1]. It is also perfectly clear that the register of the *I li*, teaching, as it did, each one the adequate measure of subjection and devotion he was to observe towards his relations, was perfectly calculated as a means of defining the place of each in the hierarchy of his clan and the distance mutually separating clanspeople. In point of fact it has been used for this purpose in China from early times, and has occupied a prominent place among the institutions of social life for centuries, a place which it still maintains even at the present day.

We have no means of ascertaining whether the mourning rules formed already during the Cheu dynasty a regular compilation, fit to serve as a formal codex for family life. They may perhaps not have been cast into this form until the epoch of the Han dynasty, when, as stated on page 6, the *I li* was compiled, or re-compiled, from ancient materials. But this does not exclude the probability that under the Cheu dynasty they played an important part in social life as customary rules, strictly adhered to, more strictly perhaps, than written law; otherwise, it would seem impossible to account for

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[1] 子貢問喪、子曰、敬爲上、哀次之、瘠爲下.
Li ki, chapter 55, l. 12, or section 雜記, II, 1.

the fact that they are distributed in such considerable numbers throughout the *Li ki* and are therein so often made the topic of minute and even frivolous discussions by the wisest men of the Realm, Confucius among the foremost. From a couple of passages occurring in the *Li ki* it may even be inferred that these rules then held a place amongst the political laws of the State. In its 26th. chapter (l. 40) we read that, while discussing with his disciple Tszĕ-yiu the mourning for a foster-mother, Confucius declared that a certain officer of Lu had said to the ruler of this state: »Accord-» ing to the ancient rules, no mourning is worn for a foster-mother. » If Thou, a Ruler, wearest it, Thou wilt act contrary to that ancient » rule and consequently introduce confusion into the laws of the » State" [1]. And in chapter 71 (l. 25) it is written that »the » sovereigns of former times determined the proper medium for » mourning and decreed the periods for it" [2].

But even if we take for granted that the rules on mourning were not codified until the Han dynasty, the fact remains that they *were* then codified; and this proves that the need of having them cast into the shape of a written law for use in social life was then seriously felt. Whence arose this need? An explanation of the organization of Chinese society will help us to a solution of this problem.

It has been set forth already on pages 507 *sqq.* that the social organization of the Chinese Empire has, since very early times, been based upon the principle that each family should form one single body governed by the patriarch, its highest chief, and that the State should resemble one immense family, with the Son of Heaven at its head as chief patriarch. Under the influence of this doctrine, families, not men individually, came to be regarded, from the Government's point of view, as the smallest particles, the molecules of the nation, each individual being swallowed up in the circle of his kinsfolk and immovably fixed therein and kept in his place by those above and below him in the family hierarchy.

Such a state of affairs probably prevailed already in the earliest times of the Cheu dynasty, for we read in the *Li ki* that Wu, the first sovereign of this House, enacted regulations for fixing each

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[1] 古之禮慈母無服。今也君爲之服是逆古之禮而亂國法也. Section 曾子問, I.

[2] 先王焉爲之立中制節. Section 三年問.

one's place within his clan. One of the most interesting sections of that work, entitled: The Great Tradition [1], which gives the outlines of the leading principles of government prevalent in those ancient times, has: »In the ascending line he regulated the » relationship to grandfathers and ancestors, in order to cause » respect to be observed towards those who are in authority. In » the descending line he acted likewise with regard to children and » grandchildren, in order that the duties towards near relatives » by blood should be properly observed. And in the collateral lines » also he regulated the bonds of kinship by making all the living » members of the clan take their meals together. In this wise a » place was assigned in the clan to each of its members in accord- » ance with his rank of kinship, and each one was distinguished » from his fellow clansmen by the measure of respect he had to » pay, and the duties he had to fulfil. In consequence of this, the » path in which mankind had to walk was faithfully trodden to » its very end" [2].

Furthermore, the same section of the *Li ki* has:

» When a wise man sits (on the throne) with his face to the » South, having all the affairs of the world placed before him, » there are five things which occupy his attention in the first place; » but the matters which regard his subjects directly are not amongst » the number. The first thing is, the regulating of the relations » between family members reciprocally; the second, the rewarding » of meritorious officers of the State; the third, the raising of learned » men to office; the fourth, the taking into his service of the able » and influential; the fifth, the appreciation of those who manifest » love towards mankind. When these five things have had full » justice done to them in this world, every one amongst the people » has his necessities provided for and all his wants supplied; but, » if the realization of any of the five be incomplete, the people have » no chance of living till they die a natural death of old age. » Verily, a wise man who governs the world with his face to » the South, takes the path in which mankind have to walk (the

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1 大傳. It forms the 47th. chapter in the Khienlung edition.

2 上治祖禰、尊尊也。下治子孫、親親也。旁治昆弟、合族以食。序以昭繆、別之以禮義。人道竭矣. Leaf 11.

» regulation of the family, see above) as his starting point" [1].

In other words, a wise sovereign abstains from interfering directly with the people. He confines himself strictly to issuing rescripts for regulating the relations between high and low in the several tribes into which the population is divided: herein lies the main point, the centre of gravity of his policy. For the rest he contents himself with giving his best attention to his body of officers and recruiting it from amongst the most able and influential of his subjects. In short, the Empire must be, and most probably was in ancient times, an agglomeration of tribes, each enjoying patriarchal self-government constituted of the elders, every one of whom must be a *paterfamilias;* and over all these tribes the sceptre is to be wielded by a supreme government, which simply maintains peace and order amongst them, without, however, interfering with their internal affairs. These do not concern the Throne and are allowed to take their own course under the direction of the elders, who are held entirely responsible for peace and order among themselves.

Statesmen anciently saw in the above policy a wise expedient for considerably reducing the difficulties of the supreme Government in maintaining its own sway, which then was, of course, as in every other despotic country, the first object of all its endeavours. Not only did that policy throw a great part of the duties of administration upon the shoulders of the people; but it screwed each atom of the tribe firmly into its place by means of laws fixing the relationship among its members and the duties to be observed by each towards all. Friction between individuals was thereby reduced to a minimum, internal peace and concord were in a high measure insured, and subjection to seniors and governors was constantly inculcated. No wonder then that this policy, which we may truly say is the Chinese system of government in a nut-shell, has always met with the fullest approval by those who held the reins of power in the State, nor that The Great Tradition is still at the present day fully recognized as one of the chief fundamental laws of the Empire.

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[1] 聖人南面而聽天下、所且先者五、民不與焉。一曰治親、二曰報功、三曰舉賢、四曰使能、五曰存愛。五者一得於天下、民無不足、無不贍者、五者一物紕繆、民莫得其死。聖人南面而治天下必自人道始矣. Leaf 14.

Many a thing, says this document, may be modified and altered in the government of the State in accordance with the requirements of the time, and even arbitrarily; but »there are also matters which »can never be changed, to wit, the fulfilment of one's duties »towards near relatives by blood, the paying of such respect to »those in authority as is due to them, the giving proper honours »to one's elders, and the maintenance of the difference in rank »which exists between the sexes. In regard of these matters no »changes can be enjoined upon the people" [1]. How could such subjection, reverence and dutifulness be ensured in the bosom of the clan, and the chief duty of the government be thereby fulfilled?

The answer given to this question by ancient statesmanship was: It can be best ensured by pointing out to each individual his exact position among his clanspeople, and constantly reminding him of his place by compelling him to observe mourning in an adequate degree for each of them, especially the seniors. Herein lies the solution of the question why the rules of mourning occupied a place of the highest importance in ancient Chinese life and were probably even then a subject of legislation; and also why during the Han dynasty, if not at a much earlier epoch, they were formally codified by scholars working under the special patronage of Government, and were laid down in this form in the *I li*. They became a natural complement of The Great Tradition in its quality of fundamental law of the Empire. This document itself is not silent on mourning. It gives some outlines for it, part of which have been reproduced already on page 528; others run as follows: »The matters which regulate »the wearing of mourning are six: 1st. the duties towards the »near relations by blood; 2ndly the respect due to those in autho»rity; 3rdly the names (used to indicate persons who are received »in the clan by marriage); 4thly the cases of persons who have left »the clan (on marriage) or have not left it; 5thly distinction between »relatives dying as majors or as minors; 6thly affinity" [2]. Each of these elements has indeed entered into the composition of the mourning register of the *I li*, as the careful reader will have observed.

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[1] 其不可得變革者則有矣、親親也、尊尊也、長長也、男女有別。此其不可得與民變革者也. Leaf 16.

[2] 服術有六、一曰親親、二曰尊尊、三曰名、四曰出入、五曰長幼、六曰從服. Leaf 29.

The salutary results which a system of government such as the above was deemed to produce for the State and its people, are depicted by The Great Tradition in a concatenation of sentences which, though here and there devoid of a logical sequence of thought, are of sufficient interest to be reproduced here. »From »fulfilling the duties towards the nearest kinsmen arises the hon- »ouring of the lines of ancestry. From honouring the lines of »ancestors arises respect for the whole clan, including both its »living and dead members. In consequence of such respect the »clansmen are firmly bound together. Through their being bound »together the ancestral temple of the clan is surrounded with »glory, and when glory surrounds this temple, importance is attached »to the gods of the Land and Grain. Importance being attached to »these divinities, love will reign among the clans. If love prevails »among them, penal laws are not ineffectual, and in consequence »of their not being without good effect, the people enjoy rest and peace. »Where rest and peace prevail among the people, they have suffi- »cient wealth to provide for all their wants, and when they have »enough for their wants, all their desires are realized. This reali- »zation of their wishes entails the perfection of ceremonial usages »and good customs, and where these are perfect, happiness and »joy follow in their train" [1].

Having now finished our sketch of the important position which mourning occupied in ancient China both as a social and a political institution, we will now proceed to examine whether it has played a like part in later times.

It is a well known fact that each dynasty which has established its sway over the Middle Kingdom, has adopted more or less faithfully the constitution and the institutions of the sovereigns which had preceded it on the throne, adhering tenaciously to the principles of the art of governing laid down in the ancient Classics. Such a line of conduct has also been followed by each dynasty in respect of the family and the tribe and of their internal organization; and, as a natural conse-

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[2] 親親故尊祖。尊祖故敬宗。敬宗故收族。收族故宗廟嚴。宗廟嚴故重社稷。重社稷故愛百姓。愛百姓故刑罰中。刑罰中故庶民安。庶民安故財用足。財用足故百志成。百志成故禮俗刑。禮俗刑然後樂. Leaf 48.

quence, the ancient mourning institutions have been regulated in all ages by special official rescripts drawn up with studious care, and enforced upon the people by rigid laws threatening with severe punishments those who neglected to mourn for their kinsmen.

The learned class having, as is well known, always stood in close connection with Government because of its producing the graduates from whom the official class is steadily recruited, it is quite natural that the mourning rescripts laid down in the *I li* and the *Li ki* have, ever since the Han dynasty, been an object of serious study for scholars. These latter have anatomized the rescripts in every sense of the word; they have laid bare what was hidden in them and scarcely discernable for a layman; they have discussed them with hair-splitting differences, and suggested new rescripts to fill up any blanks discovered. Foremost amongst those who have devoted themselves to this work, are Ching Khang-ch'ing, Kia Kung-yen, Khung Ying-tah and Ngao Ki-kung, all well known to our readers. The writings of these men supplied ample material for the compilation of the splendid imperial edition of the *I li* and the *Li ki*, which was published in the Khienlung period. Well selected extracts from their works are interpolated so profusely in that edition between the text, as to supply every native scholar or statesman with any information he may desire in regard of the two works. The chapters on Mourning Dress contained in the Khienlung edition of the *I li* are consequently no mere archaic curiosities in the field of literature or ethnography. They are in fact state-papers of the highest importance, a study of which can not be neglected by any one who desires to acquire a fair knowledge of the Chinese State machinery and the way in which it is worked.

The Standard Histories afford ample evidence that the regulation of mourning was always placed foremost among the great affairs of state. Already in the Books of such an early period as the Tsin dynasty [1] we read that, in the year 280 of our chronology, the statesman Chi Yü [2] advocated in a memorial addressed to the Throne the necessity of a proper revision and re-compilation of the rescripts on the wearing of mourning, as in the old writings these were far from agreeing on every point. He proposed that the *Li ki* should be taken as the basis for the new rescripts which he desired to see issued on this head, and that these should be completed by borrowing from traditions; he also submitted to the Throne

1 Chapter 19, l. 3. 2 摯虞.

a project for a new code of mourning and rituals, which, having received the imperial approbation, was formally decreed law. The Standard Histories inform us that the rescripts on mourning have never ceased to arouse controversies and disputes between statesmen and scholars; memorials proposing improvements of the same were frequently placed before the Sons of Heaven during every dynasty, and many of these documents entailed the introduction of modifications of more or less significance. That such endless differences of opinion naturally gave rise to numerous books and treatises on the subject, we need scarcely say. In the Catalogue of Literature inserted in the Books of the Sui Dynasty [1] nearly fifty, most of them provided with a commentary, are mentioned by name, and it is very probable that a large number existed which were deemed unworthy of a place in the Catalogue, or escaped the notice of the compilers. To convey an idea to our readers of the amount of labour, time and paper wasted on this subject, we need only mention that a compilation of the views and opinions expressed on the rules of mourning by men of authority from the Han dynasty till that of T'ang, as made by Tu Yiu for his *T'ung tien*, covers in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, in which it is reproduced [2], no less than one hundred and fifty pages of very compact print, which, if translated into English, would make a volume of respectable size.

The oldest official mourning codex that has been preserved entire, forms a part of the great compilation of statutory rites of the Khai yuen period. Tu Yiu gave it a place in his *T'ung tien*, and from this thesaurus it found its way into the gigantic *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing* [3]. On examination it turns out to be no more than a copy of the mourning rescripts as systematically arranged in the *I li*, with a few modifications and additions of little interest. This fact gives us a right to conclude, that the *I li* was the acknowledged *lex scripta* for matters relating to mourning and mourning dress during the whole period extending from the Han to the T'ang dynasty.

The Sung dynasty adopted the mourning institutions of the House of T'ang in their entirety, introducing, however, in the register of relatives to be mourned for in the five degrees some alterations which are mostly recorded with the whys and where-

1 See chapter 32. 2 Section 禮儀, chapters 87—91.

3 The same section, chapter 53.

fores in the 125th. chapter of the History of the Sung Dynasty. From the Sung dynasty the register was taken over by the house of Ming, which assigned it a place among its Collective Statutes. Those who have not this rare work at their disposal may find the register entire in the History of the Ming Dynasty [1], and also in the *Ku kin tᶜu shu tsih chᶜing* [2]. Down to the present day no other changes have been made in it, the sovereigns of the dynasty of Tsᶜing, now the reigning House, having adopted it in the shape in which they found it at their conquest of the Empire. They have given it a place in the *Ta Tsᶜing hwui tien* and in the *Ta Tsᶜing tᶜung li* [3], as also in the Code of Laws known as *Ta Tsᶜing luh li*, in which last work it appears as an introductory part, for reasons which will be set forth on page 568.

Our chief object in describing the institutions of China being to consider them in their modern form, we cannot pass over this register, which was definitively ratified by the present dynasty, in silence. For, as the register of the *I li* was for ancient China, so this is a perfect source for our knowledge of the constitution of the family and the clan as they now-a-days exist and as they existed during the House of Ming; moreover, it is highly useful in drawing a comparison between ancient and modern family law, shedding light upon those changes which the ideas regarding the submission and devotion due by kinsfolk to one another have undergone in the space of fifteen centuries or more.

Like the dynasties of Tᶜang, Sung, Ming, and probably all those which have borne sway over the Chinese Empire, that of Tsᶜing recognizes five degrees of mourning, generally styled wu fuh [4], »five attires or dresses". It distinguishes them by the same names as are used in the *Li ki* and the *I li*, and which have been inserted on page 491. Rescripts on the cut and make of the dresses are given by the *Ta Tsᶜing luh li*, in its second chapter. On closer examination these rescripts are found to be for the greater part a compendium of extracts from the Rituals for Family Life, copied almost verbatim, though with considerable abbreviations and omissions of detail. The particulars about the dresses, given in the following pages at the head of the five registers of relatives to be mourned for, are drawn from the Code of Laws, as are those registers themselves.

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1 Chapter 60, l. 23 *et sqq.*

2 Section 禮儀, chapter 65.

3 Chapter 52, l. 3 *sqq.*

4 五服.

The first degree.

The rescripts concerning the coat and the skirt to be worn for this degree are mere reprints of what the *I li* prescribes with regard to these articles of dress; only the wording is somewhat different. We may therefore refer the reader to pages 493 *et sqq.* The dress is, says the Code of Laws, »of the very coarsest textile of unprepared hemp" [1]. Its rescripts for the cap and headband, which articles of dress the *I li* describes in a manner neither satisfactory, nor intelligible (comp. page 495), run as follows: »The material for » the cap is paper and starch. It is one foot wide, and has three » small vertical plaits, all folded over to the right side, and of » such folds it has three sets. A (double) hempen rope, passing » from the forehead over the skull, is fastened to it; it goes then » from the back part of the head (in both directions) towards the » front, and at each ear one end is fastened by means of a » knot, a kind of military helmet being formed in this wise. The » remaining ends of the rope hang downwards (one over each ear), » forming strings which are knotted underneath the chin" [2]. This headgear represents the cap as it was worn in ancient times, according to the ambiguous description of the *I li*, reproduced on page 495, and also according to some commentators on that work, whose opinions have been inserted in the Khienlung edition.

Like the *I li*, the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* prescribes sandals of Kien grass for this degree of mourning.

»The howling staff", so the Code goes on, »is of bamboo, » when carried for a father. This is on account of its having the » nodes on the outside" [3]. Indeed, the word and the character denoting a bamboo node are tsieh 節, and mean at the same time chastity, purity of conduct, of which virtues the father is supposed to have made a great display before the eyes of the *outside* world, ere he left it for the next. »The father", says the Code, »is unto » his son the celestial sphere, and bamboo, being round, represents

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[1] 極粗生麻布.

[2] 冠紙糊爲材。長尺跨、預爲三細帼俱向右、是爲三襞積。用麻繩一條、從額上、約之、至項後交過前、各至耳結之、爲武。武之餘繩垂下爲緩、結於頤下.

[3] 其哭杖父用竹。取其節外著也.

» that sphere. And a bamboo stem does not change its aspect in » any of the four seasons (because it is an evergreen); so, likewise, » the grief and sorrow felt by a son for his deceased father remain » unaltered, even though they may pass through cold weather and heat. » When carried in mourning for a mother, the staff is of T'ung » wood (comp. p. 494), for T'ung (桐) means »similar" (t'ung 同), » and the feelings of a son for his mother are the same as those » which he cherishes for his father. Moreover, such a staff has no » nodes on the outside, and thereby implies that the mother has » cultivated chastity inside the dwelling. The upper half of this » staff is round, to represent the Heavens; but the lower half is cut » square, so as to symbolize the Earth [1]. In carrying it, the part which » was nearest the root of the plant is held downwards, both in the case » of the staff of bamboo and of T'ung wood. The staff is so long » as to be on a level with the heart; for, whilst a dutiful son is howling » and weeping without any regard to times, the corporal weakness and » illness which result therefrom arise from his heart, and hence the » length of the staff is determined by the place where his heart is" [2].

Excepting that the staff of T'ung wood should be partly round and partly square, all the other rescripts are copied directly from the *I li*, as may be verified by consulting page 494. The whys and wherefores, however, are borrowed almost verbatim from Khung Ying-tah, Kia Kung-yen and Ch'en Hao, whose dilations on the staves may be found in the Khienlung edition of the *Li ki* [3]. Though everybody may attach as little value to their explanations as he thinks fit, their far-fetched sophistical reasonings show most clearly that even the most famous scholars of the Empire, as well as the modern legislators who faithfully re-echo their words, are not one wit less frivolous in their ways of thinking than the common people, who indulge in similar aberrations from common sense in giving explanations of their customs.

1 According to pure and ancient Chinese orthodox philosophy, the Earth is square.

2 父爲子之天、竹圓象天、竹貫四時不變、子爲父哀痛亦經寒暑不改也。母用桐木、桐之言同、心同乎父。其外無節、取其節內存。上半截圓、以象天、下半截方、以象地 然其根皆在下、竹桐一也。其長與心齊者、孝子哭泣無數、身體羸病從心起、故杖之高下以心爲斷.

3 Chapter 45, l. 8, and chapter 70, l. 37.

The Code of Laws contains no rescripts whatever concerning changes to be made in the mourning dress at fixed periods, so that the regulations which the ancients made on this head (see page 499 *seq.*) have not been received by the present dynasty among the institutions of the State. The same is the case with respect to the second degree; consequently the rules of mourning have undergone a considerable simplification in the hands of modern legislators.

The mourning of the first degree is to be worn for twenty-seven months in the following cases: —

1. »By a son — for his father and mother.
2. »By a daughter living in the paternal house, even if she is »betrothed or, after having been married out and divorced, »has returned to the paternal home — for her father and mother.
3. »By a son's wife — for his father and mother.
4. »By a son — for his step-mother, his foster-mother, and his »adoptive mother [1]. His wife has to mourn for each of these »persons in this same degree.
5. »By a son of a concubine — for his own mother, and for »his father's wife proper. His wife too has to mourn for these »persons in this degree.
6. »By a son adopted as a Continuator — for the father and the »mother who have adopted him. His wife has to mourn in this »same degree for them [2].
7. »By a grandson who is the Continuator of the family (his father »being dead, see page 517, no. 16) — for his paternal grand- »father and the wife of the same; also for his paternal great- »grandparents (if his father and paternal grandfather are dead), »and for his paternal great-great-grandparents (if parents, pater- »nal grandfather and great-grandfather are dead). The wife of

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1 Comp. pages 513 *seq.*

2 (1) 子、爲父母.
(2) 女在室、并已許嫁者、及已嫁被出而反在室者同.
(3) 子之妻同.
(4) 子、爲繼母、爲慈母、爲養母。子之妻同.
(5) 庶子、爲所生母、爲嫡母。庶子之妻同.
(6) 爲人後者、爲所後父母。爲人後者之妻同.

»such a Continuator who bears the important charge mourns »for those persons in this same degree.

8. »By the wife — for her husband; and by a concubine — for »her master" [1].

If we compare this list with the mourners of the first and the second degree as they are registered in the *I li* (pp. 506, 513, 515), we find that, since the first ages of the Empire, the family law has undergone important modifications. The principal amongst these is, that the mourning duties for a mother, whether she has died before her husband or after him, have been raised for her children to the same high level as those which they have to observe for their father, so that the maternal rights, contemplated from the stand-point of the children, are officially decreed not to stand behind the paternal rights in any respect. Evidently the modern legislator, in ratifying this deviation from the ancient mourning codex, has acted on the principle that »the same expertness one shows in serving his »father should be employed in serving his mother, and the love »should be the same for both" [2]. But by carrying out this maxim, preached by the *Li ki*, to its fullest extent, he has had to totally set aside another maxim announced in the same passage of that work, according to which mourning for both father and mother, is by no means the same, because there can no more be two highest authorities in one family than there are two suns in the sky (see page 515, no. 5).

The position of a woman towards her husband, however, has been left unaltered: whether she be the *materfamilias* or a concubine, she owes him the same absolute subjection of a child, as formerly. We further perceive that the principle that the *paterfamilias* should reign supreme in the family, is now-a-days carried to its highest pitch also in this respect, that even the privileged position of the Continuator, which anciently was such as to place him on a par with his father, has been totally abolished, the mourning to be worn for him by his parents having been made the same as that for ordinary sons (see page 552, no. 6). In accordance with the same principle, each daughter-in-law has now to mourn for the

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[1] (7) 嫡孫、爲祖父母、及曾高祖父母。承重嫡孫之妻同.

(8) 妻、爲夫。妾、爲家長同.

[2] 資於事父以事母、而愛同. Section 喪服四制.

parents of her husband in the highest degree, instead of in the second, as formerly, her absolute incorporation with the family of her husband naturally placing her as much under the authority of his *paterfamilias* and *materfamilias* as if she were their own child.

The second degree.

»The costume for this degree of mourning", says the Code of Laws, »is similar to that for the first degree; but it is made of »cloth of coarse, unprepared hemp of a quality next to the worst, »and the edges (of the pieces whereof the dress is composed), as »also the lower borders, are hemmed. The cap consists of a helmet »with pendant ropes, made of hempen cloth. The staff is of T'ung »wood. The shoes are either of coarse grass or straw, or of »hemp"[1].

In a few cases enumerated on page 513, this dress was anciently worn for twenty seven months. But, as shown above, three of these cases have been transferred by the modern legislator into the highest class, and the fourth has been abolished.

»This mourning with the coat with even-cut edges, during »which a staff is carried, is worn", says the Code, »for one year »in the following cases:

1. »By any son born by the wife proper, and also by his wife — »for the concubines of his father who are not childless.
2. »By a son — for his mother who has re-married after his father's »death.
3. »By a son — for his divorced mother[2].

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[1] 齊衰用次等粗生麻布爲之、而緝其旁及下際、餘同斬衰。冠以布爲武及纓。杖用桐木爲之。履以疏草或麻爲之.

[2] 齊衰杖期:

(1) 嫡子衆子、爲庶母、嫡子衆子之妻同.

(2) 子、爲嫁母.

(3) 子、爲出母.

That the mourning is reduced by one full degree for a mother when she re-marries or is divorced, is, of course, in consequence of the fact that the observance of the highest measure of subjection and devotion to her then becomes of less importance on the part of her children, because of her having seceded from the family and consequently renounced the exercise of any authority thereover.

4. » By a husband — for his wife. If his own parents are alive, » he does not carry the staff.

» The same mourning, but without the staff, is worn:

5. » By a paternal grandfather — for his grandson who is the » Continuator of the family.
6. » By a father or mother — for their Continuator and his principal » wife, as also for any other son, and for any daughter living » in the paternal home; further, for an adopted Continuator.
7. » By a step-mother (who is her husband's wife proper) — for » any son of the former wife proper of her husband.
8. » By a step-son — for his step-mother, in case she, having become » a widow, has re-married and taken him along with her to » dwell in her second husband's house.
9. » By a nephew — for each paternal uncle and his wife; as » also for his paternal aunts and sisters living in the paternal » house.
10. » For one's own brothers and brothers' sons, and also for » brothers' daughters who live in the paternal house.
11. » By grandsons, and granddaughters who either live in the pa- » ternal house or are married — for their paternal grandparents.
12. » By an adopted Continuator — for his own parents.
13. » By a married daughter — for her parents [1].
14. » By a woman who lives in the paternal house, as also by a » childless widow — for her brothers, sisters, brothers' sons, and

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1 (4) 夫、爲妻、父母在不杖.
齊衰不杖期:
(5) 祖、爲嫡孫.
(6) 父母、爲嫡長子、及嫡長子之妻、及衆子、及女在室、及子爲人後者.
(7) 繼母、爲長子衆子.
(8) 前夫之子從繼母改嫁於人、爲改嫁繼母.
(9) 姪、爲伯叔父母、及姑姊妹之在室者.
(10) 爲己之親兄弟、及親兄弟之子女在室者.
(11) 孫、爲祖父母、孫女在室出嫁同.
(12) 爲人後者、爲其本生父母.
(13) 女出嫁、爲父母.

» such of her brothers' daughters as live in the paternal house.

15. » By a married daughter — for her father's Continuator.

16. » By a woman — for the sons of her husband's brothers, as » also for such daughters of her brothers-in-law as dwell in the » paternal home.

17. » By a concubine — for her master's wife proper.

18. » By a concubine — for her master's father and mother.

19. » By a concubine — for all the sons of her master born of » the wife proper, and for their sons.

20. » For a step-father in whose house one dwells, in case neither » he, nor the mourner, possess any relatives for whom mourn- » ing is to be worn in the third or in a higher degree.

» The same mourning is worn for five months:

21. » By great-grandsons and great-granddaughters — for their » great-grandparents on the father's side".

This subdivision is not to be found in the *I li*, which places the mourning for great-grandparents in the next category (see page 520, no. 37). It was created by the compilers of the Khai yuen Codex, who deemed the mourning of three months too slight for such near kinspeople.

» The mourning of the second degree is worn for three months:

22. » By every great-great-grandson and great-great-granddaughter — » for their great-great-grandparents on the father's side [1].

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[1] (14) 女在室、及雖適人而無夫與子者、爲其兄弟、姊妹、及姪、與姪女在室者.

(15) 女適人、爲兄弟之爲父後者.

(16) 婦、爲夫親兄弟之子、及女在室者.

(17) 妾、爲家長之正妻.

(18) 妾、爲家長父母.

(19) 妾、爲家長之長子、衆子、與其所生子.

(20) 爲同居繼父、而兩無大功以上親者.

齊衰五月:

(21) 曾孫、爲曾祖父母、曾孫女同.

齊衰三月:

(22) 元孫、爲高祖父母、元孫女同.

23. » For a step-father in whose house one lives, in case both » he and his step-son possess kinsmen for whom mourning of » the third or a higher degree is to be worn (comp. no. 20).
24. » For a step-father in whose house one has once dwelt, but » does not dwell anymore. If the step-child has never lived with » him from the beginning, no mourning is worn for him" [1].

The third degree.

» This mourning of the Coarse Fabric", says the Code, » is » indicated by this name because coarse material is used for it » upon which, however, some labour has been spent. It is worn » for nine months, because such a lapse of time marks the dying » away of living nature" [2].

It must be worn in the following cases:

1. » By a paternal grandfather — for his grandsons born of their » father's wife proper, as also for such granddaughters, if they » are still living in their father's house.
2. » By a paternal grandmother — for all her grandsons, includ- » ing the Continuator.
3. » By parents — for the wife of each of their sons, as also for » their married daughters.
4. » By a paternal uncle and his wife — for the wives of that » uncle's nephews, as also for that uncle's married female nieces.
5. » By a woman — for her husband's paternal grandparents.
6. » By a woman — for her husband's paternal uncles, and for » the wife of each of them [3].

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1 (23) 爲同居繼父、而兩有大功以上親者.
(24) 爲繼父、先曾同居、今不同居者。自來不曾同居者無服.

2 大功者、以布之用功粗大名之。服以九月、爲物之終也.

3 (1) 祖、爲衆孫、孫女在室同.
(2) 祖母、爲嫡孫、衆孫.
(3) 父母、爲衆子婦、及女已出嫁者.
(4) 伯叔父母、爲姪婦、及姪女已出嫁者.
(5) 婦、爲夫之祖父母.
(6) 婦、爲夫之伯叔父母.

7. » By an adopted Continuator — for his own brothers, and also » for his own paternal aunts and sisters who live in the paternal » dwelling.
8. » By the wife of an adopted Continuator — for her husband's » own parents.
9. » For the sons of paternal uncles, as also for such of their » daughters as live in the paternal house.
10. » For married paternal aunts, and for married sisters.
11. » For a brother's son who has been adopted by others as a » Continuator.
12. » By a married woman — for her own paternal uncles and » their wives.
13. » By a married woman — for her own brothers and their sons.
14. » By a married woman — for such of her own paternal aunts, » sisters and brothers' daughters as are living in the paternal » dwelling" [1].

The fourth degree.

» For this mourning is to be used the Fine Fabric cloth which » is of finer texture and upon which labour has been bestowed. » It is to be worn for five months in the following cases:

1. » For paternal grandfather's brothers, and their wives [2].

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1 (7) 爲人後者、爲其兄弟、及姑姊妹之在室者.
The mourning for the members of the family in which he was born is accordingly reduced by one degree in consequence of his adoption by others: comp. the present clause with nos. 9 and 10 of the second degree, and no. 12 of the second degree with no. 1 of the first.

(8) 夫爲人後、其妻爲夫本生父母.
(9) 爲已之同堂兄弟、姊妹在室者.
(10) 爲姑及姊妹之已出嫁者.
(11) 爲已兄弟之子爲人後者.
(12) 出嫁女、爲本宗伯叔父母.
(13) 出嫁女、爲本宗兄弟及兄弟之子.
(14) 出嫁女、爲本宗姑、姊妹、及兄弟之女在室者.

2 小功者其布用功細小。小功五月:
(1) 爲伯叔祖父母.

2. » For a son of a paternal grandfather's brother, and for the » wife of such a son.
3. » For a grandson of a paternal grandfather's brother, as also » for a granddaughter of the latter, if she lives in the paternal » domicile.
4. » For a married daughter of a paternal uncle (comp. p. 555, no. 9).
5. » For the grandsons of a paternal uncle, and for each of his » granddaughters who live in the paternal home.
6. » For a paternal grandfather's sisters who live in the paternal » house.
7. » For a daughter of a paternal grandfather's brother, if she » lives in the paternal house.
8. » For the wife of a brother.
9. » By a paternal grandfather — for the wife of his grandson » who is the Continuator.
10. » For brothers' grandsons, as also for brothers' granddaughters » who live in the paternal home.
11. » For maternal grandparents.
12. » For the parents of one's step-mother, if she lives in the clan.
13. » By sons of concubines — for the parents of the wife proper, » if she is still alive.
14. » By sons of concubines — for the parents of their step-mother, » if she has not left the clan [1].

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1 (2) 爲堂伯叔父母.
(3) 爲再從兄弟、及再從姊妹在室者.
(4) 爲同堂姊妹出嫁者.
(5) 爲同堂兄弟之子、及女在室者.
(6) 爲祖姑在室者.
(7) 爲堂姑之在室者.
(8) 爲兄弟之妻.
(9) 祖、爲嫡孫之婦.
(10) 爲兄弟之孫、及兄弟之孫女在室者.
(11) 爲外祖父母.
(12) 爲在堂繼母之父母.
(13) 庶子、嫡母在、爲嫡母之父母.
(14) 庶子、爲在堂繼母之父母.

15. » By a son of a concubine — for the parents of his own mother,
» unless he has been appointed by his father to be the Con-
» tinuator of the family.
16. » By an adopted Continuator — for the parents of his adoptive
» mother.
17. » The said maternal grandparents mourn in return in this degree.
18. » Brothers and sisters of any mother mentioned in the above
» clauses (nos. 12—16) are mourned for, and mourn in return,
» in the same way as if they were brothers and sisters of one's
» own mother by blood (comp. no. 21).
19. » An adopted Continuator reduces the mourning for his own
» mother's relatives by one degree.
20. » For brothers and sisters of one's mother.
21. » For a sister's sons; and for a sister's daughters living in the
» paternal house.
22. » By a woman — for each grandson of her husband's brothers,
» and also for every granddaughter of her husband's brothers
» who lives in the paternal home.
23. » By a woman — for her husband's paternal aunts and for his
» sisters, whether living in the paternal home or married.
24. » By a woman — for her husband's brothers and their wives.
25. » By a woman — for each grandson of her husband's paternal
» uncles, and for such of their granddaughters as live in the
» paternal home [1].

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1 (15) 庶子不爲父後者、爲已母之父母.
(16) 爲人後者、爲所後母之父母.
(17) 外祖父母報服亦同.
(18) 其母之兄弟姊妹服制及報服亦與親母同.
(19) 爲人後者、爲本生母之親屬降服一等.
(20) 爲母之兄弟姊妹.
(21) 爲姊妹之子、及女之在室者.
(22) 婦、爲夫兄弟之孫、及夫兄弟之孫女在室者.
(23) 婦、爲夫之姑、及夫姊妹、在室出嫁同.
(24) 婦、爲夫兄弟、及夫兄弟之妻.
(25) 婦、爲夫同堂兄弟之子、及女在室者.

26. » By a married woman — for the sons of her own paternal » uncles, and for such daughters of the latter as live in the » paternal house.
27. » By an adopted Continuator — for his married paternal aunts » and married sisters.
28. » By a grandson, even though he be the Continuator, and » by a granddaughter living in the paternal home — for such » of their paternal grandfather's concubines as have given birth » to children.
29. » By a concubine who has given birth to a son or a daughter » still alive — for the paternal grandparents of her master" [1].

The fifth degree.

This mourning is »of silky hemp, the weaving threads of which » are worked and are just as fine as silk threads. It is worn for » three months, this being the duration of one season" [2].

The cases in which it is to be worn are the following:

1. » By a paternal grandfather — for the wife of each grandson, » excepted that of the Continuator (comp. page 556, no. 9).
2. » By a paternal great-grandfather and his wife — for each great- » grandson and each great-granddaughter, and also for every » son or daughter of a great-grandson.
3. » By a paternal grandmother — for the wife of each grandson, » whether he be the Continuator or not.
4. » For one's wet nurse [3].

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[1] (26) 女出嫁、爲本宗堂兄弟、及堂姊妹之在室者.

(27) 爲人後者、爲其姑及姊妹出嫁者.

(28) 嫡孫衆孫、爲庶祖母、女在室者同.

(29) 生有子女之妾、爲家長之祖父母.

[2] 絲麻、鍛治其縷、細如絲也、服以三月、爲季之終也.

[3] (1) 祖、爲衆孫婦.

(2) 曾祖父母、爲曾孫、元孫、曾孫女、元孫女同.

(3) 祖母、爲嫡孫衆孫婦.

(4) 爲乳母.

5. » For a paternal great-grandfather's brother, and for his wife.
6. » For a paternal great-grandfather's sister, if she lives in the » paternal house.
7. » For the sons of a paternal great-grandfather's brother, and for » their wives.
8. » For every daughter of a paternal great-grandfather's brother, » who lives in the paternal home.
9. » For the grandsons of a paternal great-grandfather's brother, » and for their wives.
10. » For a granddaughter of a paternal great-grandfather's brother, » if she lives in the paternal house.
11. » For the great-grandsons of a paternal great-grandfather's » brother, and also for such great-granddaughters of the same » as live in the paternal house.
12. » For a brother's married granddaughters.
13. » For a brother's great-grandsons; and for such of his great- » granddaughters as live in the paternal house.
14. » For the great-grandsons of a paternal uncle; also for the » great-granddaughters of a paternal uncle who live in the » paternal house.
15. » For every great-grandson of paternal grandfather's brothers, » and also for every great-granddaughter of the latter who » lives in the paternal home [1].

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1 (5) 爲曾伯叔祖父母.
(6) 爲曾祖姑在室者.
(7) 爲族伯叔祖父母.
(8) 爲族祖姑在室者.
(9) 爲族伯叔父母.
(10) 爲族姑在室者.
(11) 爲族兄弟、及族姊妹在室者.
(12) 爲兄弟之孫女出嫁者.
(13) 爲兄弟之曾孫、及兄弟之曾孫女在室者.
(14) 爲同堂兄弟之孫、及同堂兄弟之孫女在室者.
(15) 爲再從兄弟之子、及女在室者.

16. » For a paternal grandfather's married sisters; also for the mar-
» ried daughters and married granddaughters of a paternal grand-
» father's brother.
17. » For the married granddaughters of a paternal uncle.
18. » For the sons of a paternal aunt.
19. » For the sons of a maternal uncle.
20. » For the sons of a mother's elder or younger sisters.
21. » For the parents of one's wife.
22. » For a daughter's husband.
23. » For a daughter's sons and daughters.
24. » For the wives of a brother's grandsons.
25. » For the wives of the grandsons of a paternal uncle.
26. » For the wives of the sons of a paternal uncle.

A woman has to wear this mourning for the following kinsmen of her husband:

27. » For his paternal great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather,
» and for their wives.
28. » For his paternal grandfather's brothers and their wives;
» also for his grandfather's sisters who live in the paternal
» house [1].
29. » For the sons of his grandfather's brothers, and for the wives

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1 (16) 爲祖姑、及堂姑、及已之再從姊妹出嫁者.
(17) 爲同堂兄弟之女出嫁者.
(18) 爲姑之子.
(19) 爲舅之子.
(20) 爲兩姨兄弟.
(21) 爲妻之父母.
(22) 爲壻.
(23) 爲外孫、男女同.
(24) 爲兄弟孫之妻.
(25) 爲同堂兄弟之子妻.
(26) 爲同堂兄弟之妻.
(27) 婦、爲夫高曾祖父母.
(28) 婦、爲夫之伯叔祖父母、及夫之祖姑在室者.

» of those sons; also for such daughters of his grandfather's » brothers as live in the paternal home.

30. » For the sons and daughters of his paternal uncles, and for » the wives of those sons.

31. » For every great-grandson of his grandfather's brothers, and » for their great-granddaughters who live in the paternal house.

32. » For the married granddaughters of his paternal uncles.

33. » For the wife of each grandson of his paternal uncles.

34. » For every great-grandson of his paternal uncles, and for their » great-granddaughters who dwell in the paternal house.

35. » For the wives of his brothers' grandsons.

36. » For the married granddaughters of his brothers.

37. » For his great-grandsons and great-great-grandsons; also for » each of his great-granddaughters and great-great-granddaugh- » ters who live in the paternal home.

38. » For his brothers' great-grandsons and great-granddaughters.

39. » For all his relations belonging to another tribe, for whom » he has to wear the mourning of the fourth degree" [1].

A woman who has seceded from her clan by marriage has to wear the fifth degree of mourning for the following members of this clan:

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1 (29) 婦、爲夫之堂伯叔父母、及夫之堂姑在室者.

(30) 婦、爲夫之同堂兄弟姊妹、及夫同堂兄弟之妻.

(31) 婦、爲夫再從兄弟之子、女在室同.

(32) 婦、爲夫同堂兄弟之女出嫁者.

(33) 婦、爲夫同堂兄弟子之妻.

(34) 婦、爲夫同堂兄弟之孫、及孫女之在室者.

(35) 婦、爲夫兄弟孫之妻.

(36) 婦、爲夫兄弟之孫女出嫁者.

(37) 婦、爲夫之曾孫元孫、及曾孫女元孫女之在室者.

(38) 婦、爲夫兄弟之曾孫、曾孫女同.

(39) 婦、爲夫之小功服外姻親屬.

40. »For her paternal grandfather's brothers and their wives, and »also for her paternal grandfather's sisters who live in the »paternal dwelling.
41. »For the sons of her paternal grandfather's brothers, and for »the wife of each of them; also for such daughters of her »paternal grandfather's brothers as live in the paternal home.
42. »For each grandson of her paternal uncles, and for each of »their granddaughters who dwells in the paternal house" [1].

Besides the five degrees, the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* mentions an extra mourning, consisting in »bearing the breast and wearing a tape of linen around the head" [2]. It is to be worn for kinsfolk who do not fall within the five degrees. When attending the burial of such people, »a plain dress" [3] ought to be worn therewith. The Code also quotes a rescript from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, to this effect: »If a man »attends funeral rites, he removes the red tassels from his cere- »monial cap, and a female then puts off her ear-rings" [4].

The registers of the relatives that are to be mourned for in the five degrees embrace in the first place what the Chinese consider to be a clan with the exclusion of the dead, viz. a tsuh (族), which the reader must not confound with a tsung, mentioned on p. 511. The word tsuh seems to have a plural sense, and to mean the generations which compose a clan; indeed, the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, like Chinese works in general, when speaking of a clan, often calls it »the nine tsuh" [5], meaning thereby all the generations from paternal great-great-grandparents down to great-great-grandchildren, as they are arranged in the Table on the opposite page. In order to facilitate comparison with the Table which we have placed before our readers on page 535, both are drawn up in the same manner.

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1 (40) 女出嫁、爲本宗伯叔祖父母、及祖姑在室者.

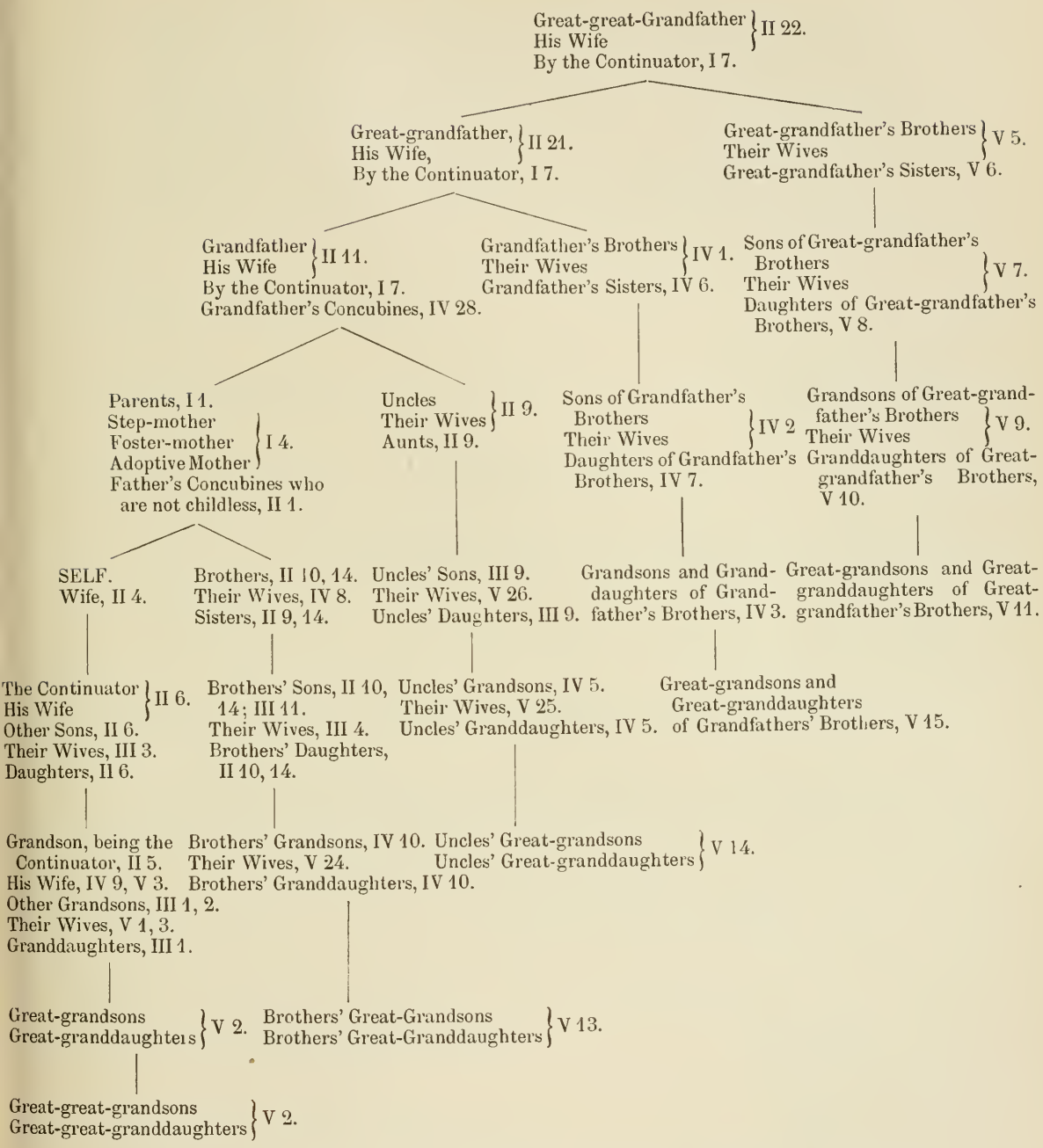
(41) 女出嫁、爲本宗同堂伯叔父母、及堂姑在室者.

(42) 女出嫁、爲本宗堂兄弟之子、女在室者同.

2 袒免. It is mentioned also in the *Li ki* (see page 528), and in the *I li* (see page 532, note 3).

3 素服. 4 親遇會喪則男摘冠纓、女去耳環.

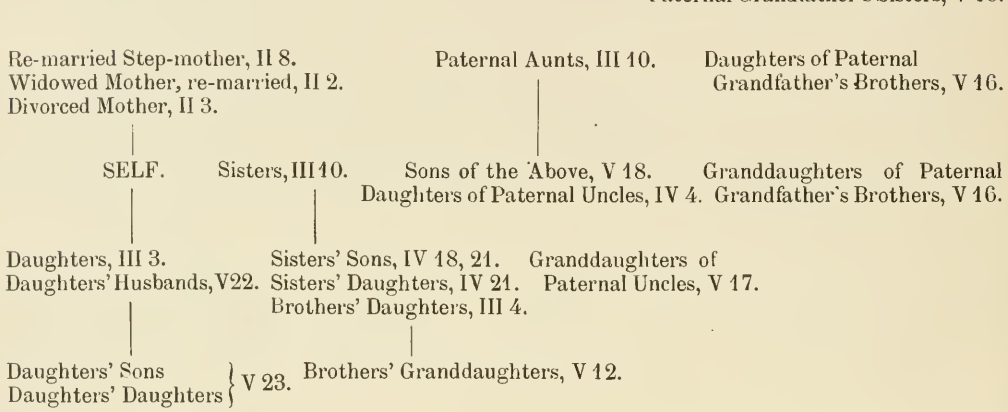
5 九族.



Mourning now-a-days worn for the Members of Father's Clan, also by Women who live therein.

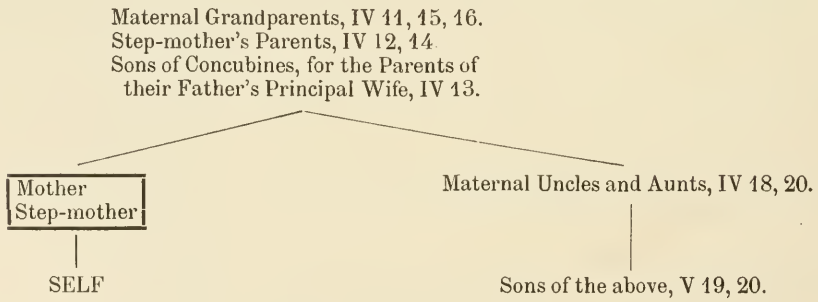
The aim of the official rescripts on mourning being in the first place to foster in the tsuh subjection to parents and elders, and also

coherence and mutual devotion between its members, it is natural that the registers should contain but few kinsmen who are members of other clans. In order to enable our readers to convince themselves of this at a glance, and to see that such kinsmen were to be mourned for only in the lower degrees, we insert here a table of the mourning to be worn for former clan-members received into other clans, and for their descendants; it offers a strong contrast with the table on page 563.


Paternal Grandfather's Sisters, V 16.
Re-married Step-mother, II 8.
Widowed Mother, re-married, II 2.
Divorced Mother, II 3.
Paternal Aunts, III 10.
Daughters of Paternal Grandfather's Brothers, V 16.
SELF.
Sisters, III 10.
Sons of the Above, V 18.
Granddaughters of Paternal Grandfather's Brothers, V 16.
Daughters of Paternal Uncles, IV 4.
Daughters, III 3.
Daughters' Husbands, V 22.
Sisters' Sons, IV 18, 21.
Sisters' Daughters, IV 21.
Brothers' Daughters, III 4.
Granddaughters of Paternal Uncles, V 17.
Daughters' Sons
Daughters' Daughters
V 23.
Brothers' Granddaughters, V 12.

Mourning worn for former female Clan-members received into other Clans, and for their Offspring.

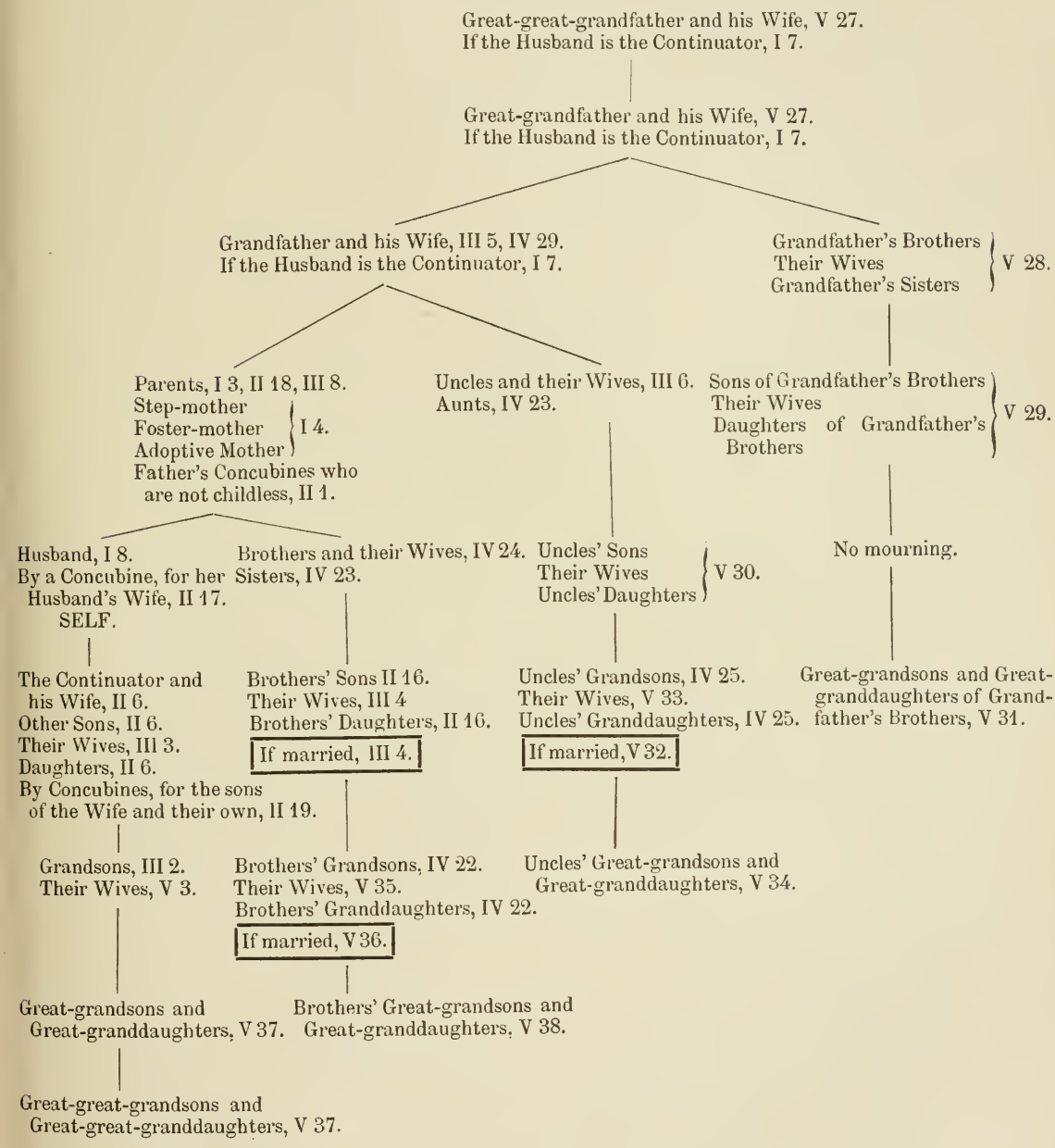
The same may be said of the following Table, in which are arranged the few members of mother's clan that are to be mourned for.


Maternal Grandparents, IV 11, 15, 16.
Step-mother's Parents, IV 12, 14
Sons of Concubines, for the Parents of their Father's Principal Wife, IV 13.
Mother
Step-mother
Maternal Uncles and Aunts, IV 18, 20.
SELF
Sons of the above, V 19, 20.

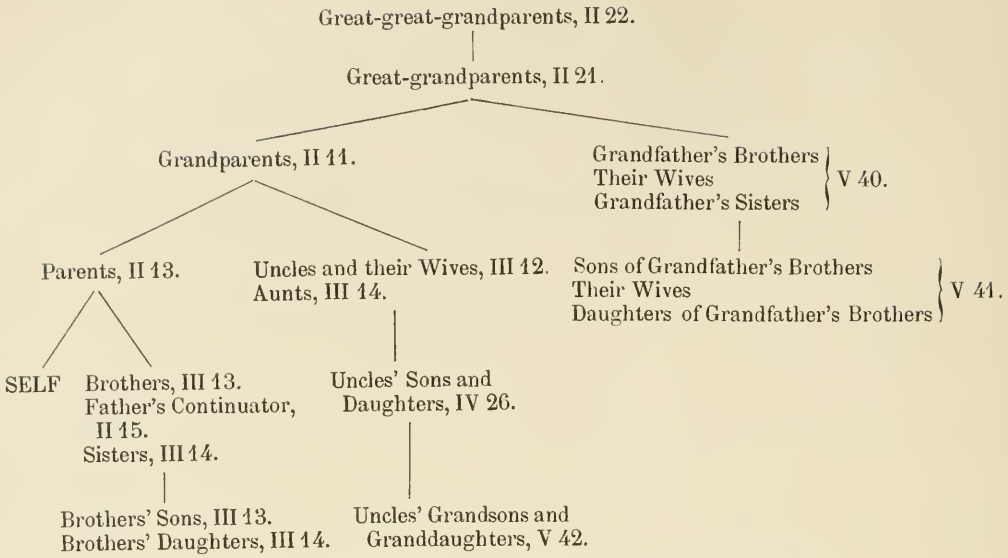
Mourning worn for Members of the Clan in which Mother was born.

This matter is furthermore brought out in the clearest light by the two following Tables, which show the great difference existing

between the mourning a married woman must observe for her husband's clan, which has become her own in consequence of her marriage, and that which she has to wear for her father's clan, of which she was formerly a member.


Great-great-grandfather and his Wife, V 27.
If the Husband is the Continuator, I 7.
Great-grandfather and his Wife, V 27.
If the Husband is the Continuator, I 7.
Grandfather and his Wife, III 5, IV 29.
If the Husband is the Continuator, I 7.
Grandfather's Brothers
Their Wives
Grandfather's Sisters
V 28.
Parents, I 3, II 18, III 8.
Step-mother
Foster-mother
Adoptive Mother
I 4.
Father's Concubines who are not childless, II 1.
Uncles and their Wives, III 6.
Aunts, IV 23.
Sons of Grandfather's Brothers
Their Wives
Daughters of Grandfather's Brothers
V 29.
Husband, I 8.
By a Concubine, for her Husband's Wife, II 17.
SELF.
Brothers and their Wives, IV 24.
Sisters, IV 23.
Uncles' Sons
Their Wives
Uncles' Daughters
V 30.
No mourning.
The Continuator and his Wife, II 6.
Other Sons, II 6.
Their Wives, III 3.
Daughters, II 6.
By Concubines, for the sons of the Wife and their own, II 19.
Brothers' Sons II 16.
Their Wives, III 4
Brothers' Daughters, II 16.
If married, III 4.
Uncles' Grandsons, IV 25.
Their Wives, V 33.
Uncles' Granddaughters, IV 25.
If married, V 32.
Great-grandsons and Great-granddaughters of Grandfather's Brothers, V 31.
Grandsons, III 2.
Their Wives, V 3.
Brothers' Grandsons, IV 22.
Their Wives, V 35.
Brothers' Granddaughters, IV 22.
If married, V 36.
Uncles' Great-grandsons and Great-granddaughters, V 34.
Great-grandsons and Great-granddaughters, V 37.
Brothers' Great-grandsons and Great-granddaughters, V 38.
Great-great-grandsons and Great-great-granddaughters, V 37.

A Woman's Mourning for the Members of her Husband's Clan.



A Married Woman's Mourning for the Members of her Father's Clan.

All the above Tables, when compared with those given on pages 535 *et sqq.*, place it beyond a doubt that the cardinal political principle underlying mourning in ancient times not only remains intact in the modern rescripts, but has even been carried by modern legislators to its utmost limits. Considerable modifications have, however, been made in the registers, which have been partly pointed out on page 550. We will not enter into all these particulars, as we are not here making a comparative study of family life in ancient and modern China; but shall confine ourselves to noting that the special clauses which the mourning registers of the *I li* contain for grandees and officials, are entirely wanting in the lists of the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, so that these lists are evidently intended for all classes of society, high or low. The said clauses were also wanting in the Codex of the Khai yuen period. We likewise search the lists of the present dynasty, and those of the House of Ming, in vain for any special clauses regarding those who die under age, although they were still retained in the Khai yuen Codex. Considering that it is not customary now-a-days to wear regular mourning for such minors, the silence of the actual books of law on this subject justifies the conclusion that no mourning is required for them by Government.

In describing the place mourning occupies in China as an institution of the State, we must also refer to the part it plays in the official administration of punishments for crimes. In strict accordance with the great political principle that the distinctions of

rank between high and low in the clan must be maintained to their utmost limits, legislators have adopted as a fixed rule that for one and the same crime there must be different punishments, varying in severity according to the mourning the perpetrator has to observe for the victim. When the latter falls in a higher class, the punishment must be increased proportionally, and if in a lower, it must be diminished. It will be useful to illustrate this by examples. Let us take some cases of beating or kicking with hands or feet, stated in the 27th. and 28th. chapter of the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*. If this crime is committed by a wife or a concubine against her husband, the punishment is fixed respectively at one hundred or ninety blows with the long stick, and if the husband has incurred a fracture or wound in the quarrel, the punishment shall be three degrees heavier than if the woman had treated in the same way a person who is no kinsman of hers. But if, on the contrary, the husband beats his wife or concubine, without inflicting fractures or wounds, the assault is not punishable at all, and if he causes fractures or wounds, his punishment shall be either two or four degrees lighter than in the case of the same injuries having been afflicted by him on a person not belonging to his kinsfolk [1]. Beating or kicking grandparents or husband's grandparents or parents is punished with decapitation; but for the same offence committed against grandchildren, children or daughters-in-law, no punishment is demanded by the law. The Code further devotes two sections to an enumeration of the punishments to be inflicted for beating or kicking such relatives in the four lower degrees of mourning as stand on a higher level in the hierarchy of the family than the perpetrator of the deed

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1 Whereas, in making quotations from the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, we shall many a time have to refer to its several degrees of punishment, we insert here once for all a summary of them, as given at the head of the Code, in the 2nd. and 4th. chapters:

1st. degree:	10 blows with the short bamboo stick.		11th. degree:	60 blows with the long stick and one year's banishment.
2nd. degree:	20 such blows.		12th. »	70 such blows and 1½ years' banishment.
3rd. »	30 » »		13th. »	80 » » » 2 » »
4th. »	40 » »		14th. »	90 » » » 2½ » »
5th. »	50 » »		15th. »	100 » » » 3 » »
6th. »	60 blows with the long stick.		16th. »	100 » » » transportation for life to a country 2000 miles distant.
7th. »	70 such blows.			100 such blows and transportation to a distance of 2500 miles.
8th. »	80 » »			100 such blows and transportation to a distance of 3000 miles.
9th. »	90 » »		17th. »	strangulation or decapitation.
10th. »	100 » »			

himself; but it has no punishments for those who beat or kick inferior kinsmen in those degrees, notwithstanding it threatens with twenty blows all persons who beat or kick people who are not members of the family. The punishments for all sorts of crimes being regulated in a corresponding manner, the list of relatives who are to be mourned for in the five degrees forms an indispensable *vademecum* for every mandarin who has to give judgment; and therefore for very good reasons it is placed at the head of each edition of the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* by way of introductory chapter.

As a matter of course, the governors of the Chinese nation fully conceived from the beginning that the realization of their great object to regulate the relations of clanship would not be secured by simply telling the people which mourning dresses to wear, and which persons they were to mourn for in the several degrees. They had to take more effective measures in order to force the people into a proper observance of mourning. In the first place, penal laws were enacted, threatening with punishments those who neglect mourning, and furthermore, the governing classes were obliged to observe the rules of mourning most faithfully, thus silently inducing the people to follow their example.

The *Ta Ts'ing luh li* has:

» When one knows that his father or mother has died, or when » a grandson who is the Continuator of his family is acquainted » with the decease of one of his paternal grandparents, or a woman » (wife or concubine) with that of her husband — if then such a » person keeps the fact a secret and shows no signs of distress, » a punishment of sixty blows with the long stick, followed by » banishment for one year, shall be inflicted. And if, ere the » rescripts of mourning have been observed to the end, such a per- » son puts off the mourning dress and behaves as if not in mourning, » forgetting grief, making music, clubbing together with others for » amusement and enjoyment of festive meals — eighty blows with » the long stick shall be administered" [1]. The official commentary adds, that a woman also subjects herself to this law if she violates in any of the above ways the mourning for her husband's parents.

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[1] 凡聞父母(若嫡孫承重與父母同)及夫之喪、匿不舉哀者、杖六十徒一年。若喪制未終、釋服、從吉、忘哀、作樂、及參預筵宴者、杖八十.
Chapter 17, § 匿父母夫喪.

» A punishment of eighty blows shall likewise be inflicted upon » any one who, knowing of the death of a relative who ranks » higher in the hierarchy of the family than he (or she) does and » for whom he (or she) has to observe mourning for one year, » keeps the case secret and shows no signs of grief. And the » punishment shall be sixty blows for whomsoever has, in such a » case, put off his mourning dress before having observed the » rescripts on mourning to the end, and has thereupon behaved as » if not in mourning" [1].

The fact that the Code of Laws demands no punishment at all for people who neglect mourning for their kinsmen whose rank in the clan is lower than their own (that is to say, for sons and daughters, younger brothers and sisters, younger cousins, younger cousins once and twice removed, and the descendants of any of these) is a decisive proof that the chief object which the Government has in view in enforcing a faithful observance of the rescripts on mourning by its laws, is the maintenance of the submission and devotion to those who are invested with authority in the clan. In the parts of China which have formed the field of our researches, scarcely any one would think of wearing a mourning coat for a kinsman one generation lower in rank: no parent does so for his child, no uncle for his nephew. But an elder brother mourns for a younger, a brother for his unmarried sister, an elder cousin for a younger one, and so forth, because such relations stand on the same level in the family genealogical table.

We have no means of ascertaining whether similar articles also existed in the laws of previous dynasties, as none of the codices issued by them have ever come under our eyes. But we may without much hesitation presume this to have been the case, considering that all the dynasties have displayed great anxiety in codifying the mourning rescripts, in order to their faithful observance by the people, and adding to this the fact that the present dynasty has copied nearly all its laws and institutions from bygone ages.

But more effectually than by written laws have succeeding dynasties endeavoured to further a proper observance of the rules of mourning by obliging the governing classes to set a good example in this respect. The Sons of Heaven in the first place set themselves up

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[1] 若聞期親尊長喪、匿不舉哀者、亦杖八十。若喪制未終、釋服、從吉者、杖六十. *Loc. cit.*

as paragons. Already in the most ancient times of the Empire, we have seen on page 480, Wu Ting secluded himself in a mourning shed till in the third year, without indulging in conversation with others, which, according to commentators, implies that he did not occupy himself even with the affairs of state. Such abjuration of the government seems to have been established as a rule, for the *Li ki* (chapter 13, l. 20) states: »Confucius declared that in ancient »times, when a Son of Heaven died, the heir-son left the admin- »istration to his prime Minister till in the third year" [1]. By thus refusing to accept the reins of government immediately after their father's death, or — which is exactly the same thing in despotic China — to take possession of the Empire as their private property, the emperors evidently acted in obedience to the doctrine that everything which a man possesses while alive, continues to be his property after his death. And mourning being, moreover, in point of fact nothing else but a renunciation of wealth in behalf of the defunct, an imperial heir-son who properly observed mourning could not do otherwise than decline the great patrimony, until the mourning period, the time of renunciation of all wealth, was entirely past.

During the Cheu dynasty such a line of conduct was followed also by feudal rulers. In the *Li ki* (chapter 58, l. 20 and 21) we read: »After the burial a feudal prince may speak of the affairs of his »sovereign liege-lord, but not of those of his own principality. He »does not deliberate about the administration of his state until silk »has been assumed by him at the end of one year" [2]. According to the Historical Records, »the ruler Chao of the feudal kingdom »of Wei named the year in which his three years' mourning was »completed (295 B. C.), the first of his reign" [3].

Still now-a-days it is officially prescribed in the Statute rituals of the Empire that the Son of Heaven should mourn in a proper manner for his deceased parents. As soon as an Emperor has breathed his last, the Crown Prince and his consort, the Empress Dowager,

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[1] 仲尼曰、古者天子崩、王世子聽於冢宰三年. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 既葬、君言王事、不言國事。既練、君謀國政. Section 喪大記, II.

[3] (魏) 昭王三年喪畢始稱元年也. Chapter 44, l. 12, commentary.

the Concubines, and others immediately remove the ornaments from their heads, and after the fuller dressing of the corpse assume complete mourning attire of white linen, the same being done by all the imperial children and grandchildren. Every one of them has his hair cut off previously. At the death of his father or mother, the Emperor mourns till in the third year and dwells in a shed of mats erected in a side-room; he does not bestow any care on his hair until the hundredth day, when he also changes his dress for a better suit. But he does not defer his ascension to the throne. This ceremony is solemnized without delay on a lucky day [1].

During the epoch of Cheu it was not only the feudal rulers who gave up administering their domains when in mourning. A similar line of conduct was followed by the officers of the State. This will appear quite natural if we take into consideration that the position of an officer in his province did not virtually differ from that of a vassal. He probably exercised therein an authority almost unlimited, being entitled, as is still the case at present, to squeeze as much income out of its inhabitants as he could. And this income had to be devoutly renounced by him, when in mourning, like all other personal property.

In the *Li ki* (ch. 27, l. 46) we read: »Confucius said: 'During » the reign of the House of Hia, those who had to mourn till in » the third year resigned their public duties when the temporary » burial in the dwelling had been completed. Under the dynasty of » Yin they did so after the final burial. Is not this in accordance » with what the Records say: 'A superior man does not take from » men their devotion for their parents, nor may men divest themselves » thereof'' [2]. This concluding sentence shows that the matter in question was regulated by this double moral principle: a sovereign might not prevent any officer of his from resigning his office at the death of a parent, and the dignitary himself was bound by the laws of morals to resign in such a case.

The obligation to resign public duties in order to observe the best possible forms of mourning, extended in ancient China to all the relatives of the five degrees. The *Li ki* (chapter 19, l. 21) has:

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1 See the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, chapters 47 and 48.

2 孔子曰、夏后氏三年之喪既殯而致事。殷人既葬而致事。記曰、君子不奪人之親、亦不可奪親也、此之謂乎. Section 曾子問, II.

» Those who mourn for their father or mother do not execute their » duties in the government service for three years, and those who » mourn in the second degree, or in the third, do not do so for » three months"[1]. And as to lower officials, the same work says (chapter 55, l. 37): » Those who are in the three years' mourning » execute the duties of government when the Sacrifice of Felicity » has been offered. Those who mourn for a year do so when the » period of wailing is closed, those mourning for nine months, » after the burial, and those mourning in the two lower degrees, » after the temporary burial in the house"[2].

Of all customs created by holy ancestry not one perhaps has been transmitted so carefully, and maintained so devoutly in spite of the tooth of time, as the one which now occupies our attention. During the Han dynasty it was observed so scrupulously that emperors found themselves obliged to reduce the length of the mourning periods for officers, lest the administration of the Realm should suffer too much under the general mourning zeal. We infer this from some passages in the Standard Annals of that epoch. Turning over the leaves of the biography of Tih Fang-tsin[3], a statesman of high repute who lived in the latter half of the last century before our era, we read that » at the » death of his step-mother he put off his mourning attire thirty- » six days after her burial, and then re-commenced attending to » the duties of his office; for he conceived that he might not in » his quality of prime Minister to the House of Han himself pre- » sume to transgress the rescripts of the Empire"[4]. What these rescripts were is told us by Yen Shi-ku[5], the chief commentator on those annals: » Ever since the testamentary dispositions of the

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1 父母之喪三年不從政、齊衰大功之喪三月不從政. Section 王制, V.

2 三年之喪祥而從政。期之喪卒哭而從政。九月之喪既葬而從政。小功緦之喪既殯而從政. Section 雜記, II, 1.

3 翟方進.

4 及後母終、既葬三十六日、除服、起視事、以爲身備漢相、不敢踰國家之制. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 84, l. 5.

5 顏師固.

» Emperor Wen were carried out, these dispositions had been » adopted for the whole Empire as statute rules, so that the mourn- » ing of the third, fourth and last degree had lasted fifteen, fourteen » and seven days respectively"[1]. Turning now to the chapters of the same work which contain the biography of the said sovereign, we learn that before his demise, which took place in the year 157 before our era, he decreed that »mourning for him should be » put off after there had been worn for him, since his interment, » a dress of a deep-red (brown) colour for fifteen days, a pink attire » for fourteen days, and a silk one for seven"[2] — which makes a mourning of thirty-six days in all.

The above episode in the life of Tih Fang-tsin is interesting in another respect. The period of mourning for parents having been reduced so considerably for officials for nearly one century and a half — the time between the emperor Wen and Fih Fang-tsin — and this simply on account of a regulation which an emperor had enacted with a view to himself alone, we see that in those times it was deemed unseemly and arrogant on the part of servants of the State to mourn for their parents longer than was allowed for the Son of Heaven. Consequently, mourning for emperors was esteemed of higher importance to them than that for their own father or mother.

Resigning public duties when in mourning was the order of the day not only during the Han dynasty, but also during all succeeding Houses. The Standard Histories give numerous instances of such resignations, even on the death of brothers and sisters, though younger than the mourner, of grandparents, paternal uncles, nay of brothers' sons, and teachers. It would be monotonous and tedious to the reader if evidence of this assertion were placed before him in the shape of extracts. Hence we shall confine ourselves to referring merely to the *Jih chi luh*[3], a very large collection of jottings gleaned from authoritative works and cast into the shape of dissertations which are highly useful for our knowledge of China ancient and modern. This work contains in its fifteenth chapter a

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[1] 漢制、自文帝遺詔之後國家遵以爲常、大功十五日、小功十四日、緦麻七日.

[2] 以下服大紅十五日、小紅十四日、緻七日、釋服. The same work, chapter 4, l. 19. See also the Historical Records, chapter 10 l. 17 and 18.

[3] 日知錄.

choice collection of such extracts from historical sources, under the heading: »Resigning office in the mourning of the second and third degree"[1].

The Books of the Later Han Dynasty show that already as early as the first century of the Christian era the emperors took measures with a view to restraining the carrying of this ancient usage to an exaggerated pitch. They inform us that the governor Chao Hi[2], having in A. D. 65 »lost his mother, »presented a petition to the Throne, praying that he might be »allowed to perform in his own person the mourning rites. But »the Emperor Hien Tsung would not grant this, and sent an emis»sary to him, to make him put off the mourning"[3]. We see from this that duties towards the State, or, which is the same thing in China, towards the Son of Heaven, were then placed above those towards parents. How matters stood in those times is still more clearly depicted by the following episode, related in the same work:

»In the second year of the period Yuen ch'u (A. D. 115) Liu »Khai replaced Hia Khin as Minister of Revenues. From old »the rescripts forbade high ministers, and the governors in the »several parts of the Empire who had an income of two thousand »stones of rice, to celebrate the three years' mourning for their »parents, and this had led to the officers both in the metropolis and »the provinces no longer observing any mourning at all. Therefore, »the Empress Dowager Teng in the said Yuen ch'u period issued »a decree to this effect, that high dignitaries and officers of lower »rank who should neglect the mourning for their parents, should »not come into consideration for an appointment as commander »of a city, nor for promotion in rank.

»About that time a memorial was presented to the Throne, »advocating that the said decree should be declared of force also »for the governors in the several parts of the Empire. This matter »was referred to the high Ministers. After deliberation, they arrived »at the conclusion that such a measure would not tend to facili»tate government, and Khai stood alone among them, with the »following argument. 'Rescripts regulating the wearing of mourning

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[1] 期功喪去官.

[2] 趙熹.

[3] 後遭母憂、上疏乞身行喪禮。顯宗不許、遣使者爲釋服. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 56, l. 18.

» are called into existence by imperial written ordinances with » the object of raising the nation to a higher stage of perfection » and of disciplining the customs, in order that a great expansion » may be given to the principles of subjection and devotion (hiao). » A governor is placed in his province to stand as a model to » the whole country; leaders of the people, who enjoy an income » of two thousand stones of rice and are invested with authority » over a thousand miles of territory, are officially bound to cri- » ticise the conduct of the people and to improve it, in order to » beautify manners and customs in every respect. Consequently, it » is they in the first place who should stand as paragons to the » people in respecting and observing the statute rites. The magnates, » discussing the matter in question, have not gone to the bottom » of the principles underlying it. They have declared that the decree » ought not to be extended unto the governors; but this is like pol- » luting the springs of a stream, in hopes of rendering limpid that » stream itself, or like bending a thing, in order to make it assume » a straight shape: — acting thus, the object is missed'. The Em- » press Dowager acted in conformity with this advice" [1].

The highest officers of the Realm were thus again obliged to resign their posts when in mourning for their parents. Yet this regulation lasted only a few years, as »the emperor Ngan in the » first year of the Kien kwang period (A. D. 121) prohibited high » ministers, and officers with an income of two thousand and more

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[1] 劉愷元初二年代夏勤爲司徒。舊制公卿二千石刺史不得行三年喪、由是內外衆職並廢喪禮。元初中鄧太后詔、長吏以下不爲親行服者不得典城選舉.

時有上言、牧守宜同此制。詔下公卿。議者以爲不便、愷獨議曰、詔書所以爲制服之科者蓋崇化厲俗、以弘孝道也。今刺史一州之表、二千石千里之師職在辯章百姓、宣美風俗。尤宜尊重典禮以身先之。而議者不尋其端、至於牧守則云不宜、是猶濁其源而望流清、曲其形而欲景直、不可得也。太后從之. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 69, l. 12.

» stones of rice from wearing the three years' mourning" [1]. » But » in the second year of the period Yung hing (A. D. 154) the » emperor Hwan again allowed governors and officers with an in- » come of two thousand stones of rice to observe the mourning of » three years.... yet in the second year of the period Yen hi » A. D. 159) he forbade such servants of the State to do so" [2]. It seems that during the Tsin dynasty there came a decided turn in the irresoluteness of the Sons of Heaven in this matter; at least we read in the historie sof that period: » Ching Moh lost his mother. » Of old the laws prescribed that one should resume his official » duties when the burial was completed; but Moh personally pleaded » and begged so earnestly, that after a considerable time he ob- » tained the desired permission. Thereupon the law was altered and » a rescript made of the matter; and hence, since Moh's time, it » has been lawful for high officers to celebrate their mourning » rites to the end" [3].

That the stress laid upon the obligation of servants of the State to mourn properly for their deceased relations was far from trifling in China, is proved by the fact that there are instances on record of officers having been punished most rigorously by the imperial hand for not having resigned their posts at a parent's death. Suffice it to quote the following episode, which speaks volumes. » In the » third year of the T'ien ch'ing period (A. D. 928) one Ming » Shing, archivist in Hwah-cheu, kept secret his mourning for his » mother. The High Court of Justice condemned him to immediate » transportation for life; but a special imperial edict decided » that he should commit suicide, and that such of the officers of » investigation as had made the enquiry, and also the judges, » recorders and secretaries who had been negligent in examining

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[1] 安帝建光元年復斷大臣二千石以上服三年喪. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 5, l. 18.

[2] 宣帝永興二年初聽刺史二千石行三年喪服....延熹二年復斷刺史二千石行三年喪. The same work, chapter 7, l. 7 and 10.

[3] 鄭默遭母喪。舊制既葬還職、默自陳懇至久而見許。遂改法定令、聽大臣終喪自默始也. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 44, l. 4.

» into the matter, should all undergo palace-punishments"[1]. » Having » inherited the Throne", thus the edict ran, » We cling to the » Imperial plan of government; that is to say, in administering » the Realm We resolutely explore the very sources whence all » moral improvement springs and, in tracing out Our line of con- » duct, always give precedence to the roots from which all virtue » grows. Much importance do We attach to a vindication of the » laws of the Empire, in order properly to regulate the relations » which exist among mankind. Ming Shing wore the gown and » cap of the official class and of the learned; nevertheless he » entirely neglected the cultivation of virtue. Coveting fame and » official revenues, he kept the mourning for his mother a secret » and observed it not — how can a son of man tolerate such a » thing! He has become a blot on the morals of the time and done » injury to the doctrines of the illustrious Sages. The five punish- » ments are heavy indeed, and it is difficult to be lenient to the » ten heinous offences. It has been proposed to cast him out into the » wilderness; but the best thing he can do is to leave this world. » Therefore We allow him (*i. e.* order him) to commit suicide"[2].

During the dynasties which occupied the Throne subsequently, matters remained in the same state, that is to say, it continued to be lawful, nay obligatory, for officials to resign their posts when in mourning; but at times the emperors forbade their doing so. Thus we read that Wang Yen-seu[3], who lived in the eleventh century, while in function as a magistrate of King-cheu[4], » was informed » of the death of his younger brother two months after the event,

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[1] 天成三年滑州掌書記孟昇匿母服。大理寺斷處流、特勅孟昇賜自盡、觀察使觀察、判官、錄事參軍失其糾察、各行殿罰. Old History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 39, l. 10.

[2] 朕嗣守帝圖、政必究於化源、道每先於德本。貴持國法、以正人倫。孟昇身被儒冠、而乃都昧操修。但貪榮祿、匿母喪而不舉、爲人子以何堪。瀆汚時風、敗傷名教。五刑是重、十惡難寬。將復投荒、無如去世。可賜自盡. *Jih chi luh*, chapter 15.

[3] 王巖叟.

[4] 涇州.

» and then resigned his post to return to his native place"[1]. During the Yuen dynasty, in the year 1275, »Ch'en Yen, governor of » Hwai-tung, requested to be relieved of his official functions, that » he might complete the three years' mourning; but no such per- » mission was granted him[2]. In the fourth year of the Yen yiu » period (A. D. 1317) the Censorate reported that, when officials » started for home when in mourning for a kinsman, the people » became thereby disquieted and disturbed. It therefore proposed that » this should be prohibited, in order to put an end to matters » taking their own course; however, the prohibition should not » extend to aged and veteran officials at Court, to whom a special » imperial permission might be granted to leave for home. This » proposal was adopted by imperial edict[3]. And in the third year of » the period Chi chi (A. D. 1323), it was ordained by the Emperor » that medical functionaries and the officers charged with divination » and the direction of the workmen, should not leave their posts » when in mourning"[4].

When the House of Ming ascended the throne, it was customary for mandarins to resign their posts at the death of relations who had to be mourned for only in the second degree. Giving ear to his Board of Civil Office, T'ai Tsu, the founder of the dynasty, restricted a custom so detrimental to good administration in the Realm. In the Standard History of that epoch we read: »In the » twenty-sixth year of the Hung wu period (A. D. 1393), the » rescript according to which one should hurry to the mourning of » relatives of the second degree for one year, was abolished. Up to that » date, all the mandarins were allowed to hurry off on receiving intel- » ligence of the death of a grandparent, a paternal uncle, or an » elder or younger brother; but at this time the Board of Civil » Office memorialized the Emperor as follows: 'It being permitted

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[1] 甫兩月聞弟喪、棄官歸養. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 342, l. 5.

[2] 淮東宣撫陳巖乞解官終喪三年、不許. History of the Yuen Dynasty, chapter 8, l. 23.

[3] 延祐四年監察御史言、官吏丁憂起復、人情驚惑。請禁止、以絶僥倖、惟朝廷耆舊特旨起復者不在禁例。制曰可. The same work, chapter 26, l. 4.

[4] 至治三年敕醫卜匠官居喪、不得去職. The same work, chapter 28, l. 12.

» to hurry to the mourning of all the relations for whom the one » year's mourning is to be worn, in order to observe the pre- » cepts, it sometimes occurs that mourning has to be worn by one » and the same person for five or six years in succession, and more- » over, several thousands of miles have to be travelled by him. Con- » sequently, the number of officials in active service is daily decreased, » alterations and changes are numerous, and the service is neglected » in many vacant posts. Henceforth, except in cases of mourning » for parents, or for grandparents of whom one is the Continuator, » it must not be permitted to hurry to the spot in any case of » mourning for one year, and the party concerned must simply » send an emissary to present sacrifices to the defunct'. This pro- » posal was assented to" [1].

Although he checked the mourning zeal of his mandarins, T'ai Tsu manifested a great deal of sympathy with officials who had to resign office on the death of their father or mother. »In the ele- » venth year of the Hung wu period (A. D. 1378), Tsang Cheh, » Civil Governor of Kwangsi province, resigned his post because of » his mother's death. The Emperor remembered him, and sent to him » a special envoy with a gift of sixty stones of rice and twenty-five » ingots of paper money. Thenceforth every official who resigned » at the death of a parent to settle at home, was rewarded with » presents. In the first month of the seventeenth year of the same » period (A. D. 1384) he ordered the Board of Civil Office to » allot to any mandarin in mourning who had served five years, half » the salary pertaining to his title and rank, if he had shown himself » disinterested and active, had not enriched himself and was with- » out private shortcomings and transgressions; further, mandarins » who had been in service three years were to be paid their full » salary for three months" [2].

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[1] 洪武二十六年除期服奔喪之制。先是百官聞祖父母伯叔兄弟喪俱得奔赴、至是吏部言、祖父母伯叔兄弟皆係期年服、若俱令奔喪守制、或一人連遭五六期喪、或道路數千里。則居官日少、更易繁數、曠官廢事。今後除父母祖父母承重者丁憂外、其餘期喪不許奔、但遣人致祭。從之. History of the Ming Dynasty, chapter 60, l. 21.

[2] 洪武十一年廣西布政使臧哲以母喪去官。

Finally we come to the dynasty now seated on the throne of China. Its view in regard to the matter which now occupies our attention will be best understood from the laws and ordinances it has called into existence on the subject.

» When an officer in the provinces receives intelligence that he » has come under the obligation of the three years' mourning, he » howls on the arrival of the message of death. Then addressing » the messenger, he enquires after the cause of death and wails » anew, giving the fullest vent to his grief; and this done, he » changes his dress for a mourning suit, in accordance with the » rules of mourning expounded above. After having informed the » other magistrates of the death, he hurries off without delay.

» He sets out (every morning) while the stars still shine over his » head, and does not interrupt his journey until the stars again » become visible. On the road he wails whenever grief overcomes » him, but he represses his wailing in market-places and towns. » He likewise wails when, about to arrive, his eyes espy the country, » the walls of the capital of the province, department or district, » and his native place.

» On reaching the dwelling he wails again. After having passed » through the gate he ascends the western steps, leans on the » coffin with his face turned to the west, howls, and stamps his » feet. The women, their faces turned eastward (standing on the » other side of the coffin), wail and stamp an unlimited number » of times, and after a short time the superiors and inferiors amongst » the family members also face each other and pour out their » lamentations. This done, he enquires in detail about the causes » of the illness and death, and thereupon wails again, after which » he unbraids his hair and bares his feet. The women, however, » do not bare their feet. On the next day he assumes full mourn- » ing dress and ties up his hair in a knot, the women coiling up » theirs, and all affix the hempen headband thereover" [1].

上思之、特遣人賜米六十石、鈔二十五錠。自後凡官以父母喪去職而家居者皆有賜焉。十七年正月命吏部、凡官員丁憂、已在職五年、廉勤、無贓私過犯者、照名秩給半祿終制、在職三年者給三月全祿. *Jih chi luh*, chapter 15.

[1] 官員在外聞喪三年者、訃至哭。對使者問

The above rescripts contained in the *Ta Tʿsing tʿung li* have been copied almost verbatim from the *Li ki*, the book which, as our readers know, has served the present dynasty as a groundwork for most of its rites and ceremonial institutions. A whole section therein, forming the great part of the 70th. chapter of the Khienlung edition, is entitled: Hurrying to Mourning Rites [1], and gives elaborate rules of conduct for those who are hastening to the obsequies of parents, husbands and kinsmen further removed, with detailed rescripts as to the demeanour to be observed by the mourner in the event of his arriving before the burial, after the burial, and after the mourning rites have been completed. We deem it superfluous to reproduce this chapter, as Legge's complete translation of the *Li ki* is within the reach of those readers who may desire to acquaint themselves therewith.

The *Tʿung li* further prescribes that » mandarins in active service » who lose a relation other than father or the mother that gave » birth to them, and therefore have not to hurry to the scene of » death, shall, on receiving the intelligence, change their dress for a » plain mourning attire, prepare a tablet for the soul of the defunct, » and perform the wailing. Each of them shall wear in his private » dwelling such mourning as is prescribed in his case; but, when » he enters the gates of an official building or performs the duties » of his office, he shall wear his ordinary dress. Those who mourn » for a year shall not take part in any official audience or sacrifice » until the end of that period, and on the last day thereof they » shall put off mourning in their private dwelling, after having » wailed there before a soul-tablet of the dead" [2].

故、又哭、盡哀、易服如初喪儀。訃於有司、遂奔喪.

戴星而行、見星而止。途中哀至則哭、哭辟市邑。將至家、望其境、其城、其鄉、皆哭.

至家哭。入門、升自西階、憑棺西面哭踊。婦人東面哭踊無算、少頃尊卑相向哭。細問病終之故、復哭、迺被髮徒跣、婦人不徒跣。翼日成服括髮、婦人髽、皆加麻絰. *Ta Tsʿing tʿung li*, chapter 52, l. 10.

[1] 奔喪.

[2] 若官員在職、非本生父母喪不奔喪、聞訃、易素服、爲位而哭。各持其服於私家、入公門

Mandarins as well as the common people are threatened with punishments by the laws of the Empire if they venture to neglect the mourning for their parents. The *Ta Ts'ing luh li* has the following articles[1]:

» Mandarins at the death of their father or mother must (resign » office and) perform the mourning. Should one of them falsely pre- » tend that it is only a case of death of a grandparent, paternal » uncle or aunt, elder brother or elder sister, and not go and » perform the mourning, he shall receive one hundred blows with » the long stick and be dismissed from his office, never more » to be employed in the service of the State.

» If a mandarin who has no such mourning to perform, his » father or mother being still alive, falsely pretends that such a » mourning has befallen him, or falsely represents a long past case of » death of his already encoffined father or mother[2] to be a fresh » case, he shall be punished in the same way as if he had ne- » glected to perform the mourning for such a relative"[3]. The paraphrase says: » If in such a case he charges himself with mourning » and abandons his post, he is unfaithful to his Sovereign, and » this is equally as bad as a want of h i a o for his parents[4]. There- » fore the punishment is the same in both instances"[5].

»If a mandarin violates the (above) laws for any other reason, » the heaviest of the penalties to which he would then be liable » shall be inflicted upon him"[6]. This means, according to the commentaries: if he lies under an accusation of having committed malversations with regard to the public funds and therefore does

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治事仍常服。期喪者一年不與朝祭之事、服滿日於私家爲位、哭、除之. *Op. et loc. cit.*

1 Chapter 17, § 匿父母夫喪.

2 The reader will no doubt remember that, among the richer classes, encoffined corpses are very often kept unburied for a very long time; see pages 105 *et sqq.*

3 若官吏父母死、應丁憂。詐稱祖父母伯叔姑兄姊之喪、不丁憂者、杖一百、罷職、役不叙.

若父母見在、無喪、詐稱有喪、或父母已殯舊喪詐稱新喪者、與不丁憂罪同.

4 Comp. page 508.

5 担喪去位、不忠于君、與不孝于親者等。故其罪同.

6 有規避者從其重者論.

not set off to perform his mourning, desiring first to have the matter cleared up; or if, expecting difficulties because of having rendered himself guilty of such malversations, or because of incompetent management of public affairs, he absconds under the pretext of having lost his father or mother — in these and such like cases he shall be subjected to the punishment incurred by the crime which induced him not to start for the mourning or to start under a false pretext, if this punishment be heavier than that incurred according to the two above clauses of the Law. Otherwise he shall receive the hundred blows and be dismissed.

» Any mandarin who, indifferent to grief, resumes the duties of » his office ere the mourning rescripts have been observed by him » to the end (*i. e.* before the twenty-seven months have elapsed), » shall receive eighty blows with the long stick and also be dismissed » from his office.

» The colleagues of any mandarin in the (three) instances above, who, » knowing the circumstances of the case, have allowed him to have his » own way, shall all undergo the same punishment; but they shall » not be punished if they were not aware of the circumstances.

» Mandarins administering distant regions shall begin their mourn- » ing in the very month and on the very day the intelligence » of death reaches them. They do not, however, come under the » above articles of the law as to repressing grief or leaving for » the homestead, (they having to wait for a special imperial permission » to go home)" [1].

The above articles are followed in the Code by a series of bye-laws or sub-ordinances, of which we here insert a short digest. A letter of leave must be issued to every mandarin who leaves his post, by the Provincial Government or, if he serves within the precincts of the Metropolis, by the Board to which he belongs. — A fatherless mandarin is obliged to retire from office on the death of his grandfather or grandmother (*materfamilias*) if he is their Continuator, as persons in this quality have, as our readers know (see p. 549 no. 7), to observe towards their grandparents the same degree of devotion as towards their parents. — An adopted Continuator must

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[1] 若喪制未終、冒哀從仕者、杖八十、亦罷職. 其當該官司知而聽行、各與同罪、不知者不坐. 其仕憲遠方丁憂者、以聞喪月日爲始。奪情起復者不拘此律.

leave on the demise of the parents who have adopted him. — When the twenty-seven months have elapsed, the mourner must return to his post without delay. Should he not do so, but remain quietly at home, he shall be delivered up for punishment to the Board to which he belongs. — A mandarin who is fatherless may leave on the death of the mother who bore his father, further on the death of a fatherless uterine brother of his father, and on that of a fatherless son of his paternal grandfather's brother [1]. — An adopted Continuator must leave on the death of his own father and mother. In all these cases the mourner must return to his post at the end of one year, the time of the journey not included. — If a mandarin in any of these cases of death neglects to report it, or retires from office under a false pretext of having sustained a loss of that kind, he shall be dismissed. — In order to prevent or, at least, easily discover any transgression of these rescripts, every mandarin who has been adopted by another family, must register at the Board to which he belongs the names of the members of the family in which he was born, for three generations upward, and state accurately which members are dead and which are alive. — Finally, the bye-laws forbid all students for civil and military appointments to compete at the great examinations for the public service when they are in mourning for their own parents or grandparents, until one year has elapsed since the demise. If they do so, and the matter is discovered after they have been successful, they shall be punished with the same degree of punishment as the Law prescribes for keeping secret the mourning for parents.

It is worthy of notice that the Code of Laws is by no means so severe on military officers of the Realm in enforcing the above stipulations as on their civil colleagues. Only those above the rank of Ts'an-tsiang [2] — a degree corresponding to that of Lieutenant Colonel — are bound to conform to them; all those of lower rank are granted leave of absence for six months only, or, if the mortuary house be far away, for eight months [3]. The reason for this difference is obvious: the chief duty of a lower military officer is to keep the people in subjection by brute force; he has not, like a civil

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1 It will be easily seen with the help of the Table on page 563, that the said persons are the highest family authorities for a man whose father and grandfather are dead.

2 參將.

3 See the commentary on the same section of the Code of Laws.

mandarin, to attend to the moral education of the people by setting an example of filial subjection and devotion. Another reason is, that in the good old times military servants of the State were allowed only a short mourning furlough, sometimes none at all. In the *Cheu li* we read: »When an ordinary official is entrusted with a » military post, the Controller of such officials takes care that he shall » perform the wailing for his dead; but none of them may leave his » post" [1]. And the *Li ki* says (ch. 27, l. 46 and 47): » Tszĕ-hia » asked: 'In the three years' mourning no one resigns his military » duties when the period of wailing is past; is this in conformity » with the rites, or not?' Confucius answered: 'I have heard » Lao Tan say that Poh-khin, the ruler of Lu, engaged in such » service at a time when there was a reason for his doing so, » (his throne and realm being seriously endangered by enemies); » but I do not know whether now-a-days it is allowed to act » thus in the three years' mourning, even though an advantage » might be gained thereby' " [2]. The Master by his manner of speaking not having decidedly forbidden active military service while in deep mourning, it is — then such is the reasoning — perfectly lawful to engage in it.

The modern mourning attire at Amoy.

At the risk of wearying our readers with a tedious subject, we must, in using our best endeavours to attain completeness of description, devote a few pages to the mourning dress of the modern Chinese, for which purpose we have chosen Amoy and its environs as our model. This dress to a certain extent constitutes a good commentary upon the ancient attire, being designed from the latter in so far as the people are capable of imitating it by the aid of the details in the *I li* and the *Li ki*, which are, however, as our readers have seen, extremely ambiguous on many points. The descriptions of the ancient dress, reproduced on pages 493 *et sqq.*, will be much better understood if the following pages be read with attention.

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1 司士、凡士之有守者令哭、無去司. Chapter 31, l. 14.

2 子夏問曰、三年之喪卒哭、金革之事無辟也者禮與。。。。非與。孔子曰、吾聞諸老聃曰、昔者魯公伯禽有爲爲之也、今以三年之喪從其利者吾弗知也. Section 曾子問, II.

Our description of the present mourning attire will show that, in this respect, the inveterate conservatism of the Chinese race abnegates itself in no small degree. The nation's idiosyncrasy of closely imitating everything bequeathed to posterity by the holy ancients has indeed not been strong enough to prevent the people of the present day from indulging in considerable deviations from the mourning dress of olden times, which cannot be properly ascribed to a wrong understanding of the ancient works.

Mourning having always been regulated by devotion, respect and submission to parents and elders, which virtues the nation expresses by the word hiao, pronounced *hà* in Amoy, mourning attire is there denoted by the terms *hà sa*^{m} [1], »hiao clothes", and *hà hók* [2], »hiao attire", and the wearing thereof by *ū hà* [3], »to have hiao", or *toà hà* [4], »to wear hiao around the waist". These terms show that mourning and hiao have become almost synonymous.

The deepest mourning dress, supposed to be designed also from that which is prescribed by the Code of Laws for the mourners of the first degree (comp. page 547), is made of the fibres obtained by tearing hempskin asunder very rudely, or by combing it very insufficiently. The weaving threads prepared from these fibres are twisted but little, sometimes not at all, and cannot be said to have been spun. Both in the warp and the weft of the textile the threads are so far separated from each other that the cloth could not serve for musquito-curtains, there being no more than four to a centimetre. Being unbleached, it retains the natural dirty-brown colour of the rough hempskin. It is the coarsest textile the Chinese possess and, except for mourning clothes, is used exclusively for bags destined to hold things of inconsiderable weight. Hence comes the name of sack-cloth, by which many European authors have designated it. Amoy people call it *moâ* [5], »hemp", or *moâ pō͘* [6], »hempen textile". These names are given also to grass-cloth, when, as is often the case, it is used for mourning garments.

The principal article of this attire is a coat or cloak of sack-cloth, called *moâ sa*^{m} [7] or »hempen coat", which reaches to just below the knees and has very wide sleeves (See Pl. XIV, *a*). On the breast is a large flap, which is fastened under the right arm by one or two sets of hempen strings, roughly twisted; for buttons

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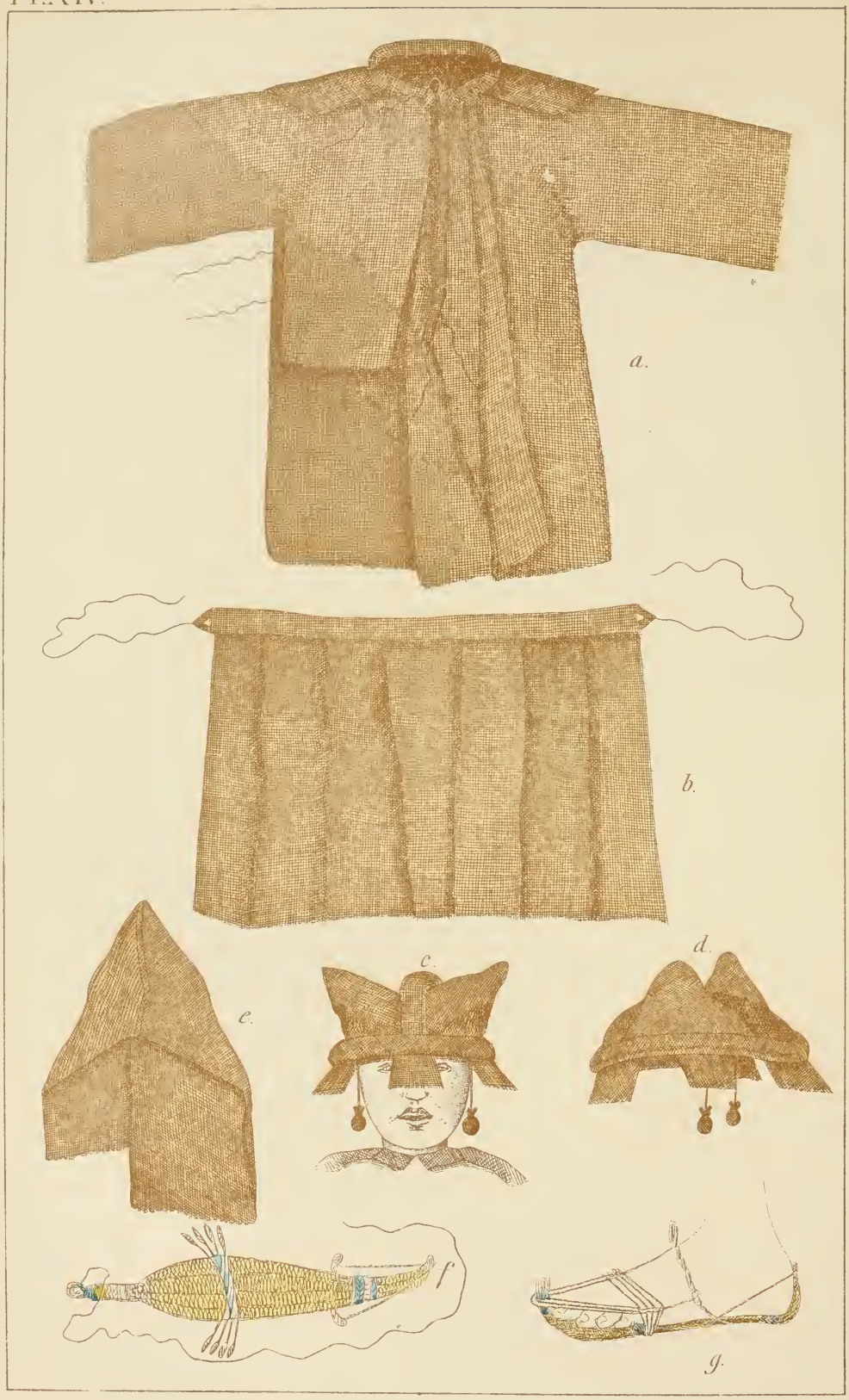
[1] 孝衫. [2] 孝服. [3] 有孝. [4] 帶孝.
[5] 麻. [6] 麻布. [7] 麻衫.



Articles of deep Mourning Dress.

of even the poorest kind would be too good for this dress. The seams are basted in the roughest manner with large stitches. The edges of the pieces, which form the seams that run down the middle of the back and breast, peep out when both parents of the wearer are dead; but if the coat is worn for a father or mother whilst the other parent is still living, they peep out, in the former case, on the breast and, in the latter, on the back only. Below, all around the edge, the coat is unhemmed, and ravelled on purpose, a few threads of the weft having been pulled out; but, in order to prevent its ravelling out too much, a fold is basted all along the edge, at the distance of about a finger's breadth. To the collar, which is simply a broad fold basted around the neck, is sewn on each side a square sheet of sack-cloth, measuring two decimetres by two and a half, which falls loose on the shoulders. These pieces, however, are wanting when the coat is worn by a female mourner, or by a male mourner under age. Excepting this, the coat is the same for any mourner of both sexes in the first degree.

On comparing this cloak with the shabby coat of ancient China as reproduced according to the rescripts on pages 493 and 496, we perceive at a glance that it is to a considerable extent an imitation of the latter, both with respect to the material and the make. Only the piece on the breast and that on the back are wanting. The jen, or sheets anciently hanging down from the sides of the body to cover the splits then made in the skirt on the right and left, are no longer worn on the present day. The same is the case with the waistrope and the twisted girdle (see pp. 494 and 495), these being replaced by a broad strip of hempskin freshly torn from the stalks and not subjected to any manipulation. When tied around the waist, this strip has the knot either in front or behind, with the ends hanging down loosely, mostly as low as to the heels, because it is written in the *Li ki* (ch. 54, l. 5): »In the third » degree of mourning and the higher degrees, a girdle is worn which » hangs down loosely" [1].

Male mourners wear with this coat a so-called »hempen helmet", *moâ khoe* [2] (Pl. XIV, *c* and *d*), the military helmet of the Code of Laws (see p. 547). To get a fair idea of it, the reader must picture to himself a small square bag of sack-cloth, placed upon the head in

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[1] 大功以上散帶. Section 雜記, I, 3.

[2] 麻盔.

such wise that the corners stand up on the right and left; further, let him imagine that all around the edge of this cap, where it fits close to the head, there runs a rather thick rope of straw or twisted hempskin, which is covered with sack-cloth, and that this so-called *moá tsoá*[1] or »hempen snake" is fastened to the cap; finally, that a similar piece of rope passes over the middle of the cap from the front to the back of the head, being fastened in these two places to the other piece, and that it presses the cap a little downwards between the two upright corners. From the rope which goes around the head there hangs down over each ear, and also in front and at the back, a square, unhemmed piece of sack-cloth, measuring only a couple of inches. These four pieces obviously represent much larger sheets which were intended to hide the entire face and the ears of the mourner, so as to render him inaccessible to any kind of impression from without; for it beseems not the mourner to have eyes or ears for anything but the loss he has sustained. Whether these sheets really had a greater length in bygone ages, we have no means of ascertaining. In order to stop their ears more completely (in theory), the mourners, if nubile or married, have on each

Fig. 26.

Male Mourner of the First Degree, with Soul Streamer and Mourning Staff.

[1] 麻蛇.

side of the helmet a pellet of sack-cloth hanging down by a thread. These instruments bear the name of *hī-á t'at* [1], »ear-plugs". Though they are not prescribed by the Code of Laws as necessary appendages of the mourning cap, they are mentioned therein in the following words: »The people of the present generation wear three »pellets of cotton; but it is not known upon what this custom »rests. Some say, they serve to prevent the ears from hearing and »the eyes from seeing" [2]. Ear-plugs are mentioned also by the *Li ki* as forming a part of the semi-mourning of the first degree in ancient China (comp. p. 500).

A pair of ordinary straw sandals, such as farmers, coolies and such like people of the poorest classes wear when at work, complete this deep mourning costume (Pl. XIV, *f* and *g*). They are tied to the feet with ordinary hempen strings. The feet ought to be bare, but fashionable people are seldom orthodox enough to obey this rule. They do not feel any qualms of conscience in wearing their ordinary stockings, but cover them on the top of the feet with a small shred of sack-cloth, as if to change them in this way into stockings of that material.

The dress of female mourners of the first degree is as follows. Their coat is exactly similar to the one described above, without the shoulder-pieces. Further they wear a so-called »hempen skirt", *moá kún* [3] (Pl. XIV, *b*), which represents that of antiquity described on page 496. It is of the same sack-cloth of which the coat is made, and the edges of the pieces of which it is composed peep out from the perpendicular seams on the inside of the skirt, evidently in obedience to the rule set forth by the *I li* (see page 496). The lower border is ravelled out, as in the case of the coat. Properly speaking, this skirt is little more than an oblong sheet, sewn on to a broad doubled band of sack-cloth, which is tied round the waist by means of a couple of hempen strings at the two top corners. That it now forms no part of the male mourning dress seems to be a deviation from ancient custom, for it is nowhere said in the ancient books that the skirt was a special article of dress for women.

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[1] 耳子塞.

[2] 今世俗用三綿蓋、不知何據。或曰、取其閉耳目聲色也. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chapter II, l. 35.

[3] 麻裙.

Instead of the »hempen helmet", females wear what people call a »hempen cover", *moá kám*[1], or »cover for the head", *kám tʿáo*[2] (Pl. XIV, *e*). This consists of two oblong pieces of sack-cloth of the same breadth, but of different lengths; a long and a short side of one piece are stitched to the corresponding sides of the other, in such a manner that the edges in the two seams remain visible on the outside. The other two edges of each piece are not hemmed, and consequently ravel freely. This cowl is so large that, when placed upon the head, it renders this part of the body entirely invisible and even hides the face; on the back it reaches nearly to the waist, and the corner stands erect upon the skull. It is evident that, just as in the case of the hempen helmet, it is intended to embody the idea that the person who wears it is so full of sorrow as to be perfectly deaf and blind to everything around.

The shoes which the women wear with this costume, do not differ from those they wear in ordinary times, except that a narrow piece of sack-cloth is fastened to the edge of the shoe where it fits around the ankle.

The staff, which played such a prominent part in mourning anciently and is still an object of much attention with the modern legislator, has been reduced by the people to a mere shade of what it was originally. It is no more than a thin stick of bamboo, rattan or wood, of scarcely an arm's length, pasted all over with thin curls of white paper, which are perhaps intended to represent the female hemp wherewith it was adorned in ancient China (see page 494). Its name is *hà tʿn̄g*[3], »mourning staff", but the people generally call it *tʿò̱-á bé*[4], »rabbit's tail", a term originally given to it in jest, probably because of its being so ridiculously short. It is now used exclusively at interments, and may then be seen in the hands of every son who follows in the funeral procession (see p. 193). After the coffin has been lowered into the pit, they all throw away their staves, upon which somebody sticks them in the ground, in a row, at the head of the pit. Here they remain, until decayed away by rain and weather (page 211). It is not improbable that this custom has something to do with the following rather ambiguous passage in the *Li ki* (ch. 57, l, 32):

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1 麻𩰫. 2 𩰫頭.
3 孝杖. 4 兎子尾.

» All the sons carry the staff... Those who cast it away break » it and fling it forth in some unfrequented spot" [1].

It would be a waste of time and space to point out in how far the modern Chinese deviate with regard to their deepest mourning attire from the rescripts dictated on the subject by the Code of Laws. These rescripts having been reproduced on page 547, the reader can make the comparison for himself. But we must not omit stating the fact that the wearing of that *moâ hók* [2] or » hempen dress", as it is commonly called in the popular tongue, is restricted to a few occasions only. These are:

1. When fetching water for washing the dead, and collecting ashes at the neighbours' doors, which two ceremonies have been respectively treated of on page 14 and page 24.
2. When the mourners go out to meet the empty coffin in the street, as has been described on page 88. The male mourners then have their hair flowing dishevelled down their backs, and the women have no ornaments or pins of any kind in their coiffure.
3. During the burial, when even very young babes are wrapped up in sack-cloth garments (page 193 *seq.*). The hair is then worn as in the foregoing case.
4. On the third day after the burial, when the nearest relations visit the grave, there to perform certain ceremonies which will be described in our Second Book.
5. During the great sacrificial mass interspersed with Buddhistic ceremonies, already referred to several times in this work and which we shall describe in detail in our Book on Buddhism. The dress in question is then put on each time the sacrifices are to be presented to the dead.

Thus the deep mourning dress being by no means constantly worn until the close of the mourning period, it is a ceremonial attire in the true sense of the word. As a natural consequence of its having to be put on so seldom, by far the greater number of people do not possess it. Some well-to-do families excepted, it is simply hired for a few coppers at the undertaker's shops mentioned on page 13, whenever wanted.

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[1] 子皆杖。棄杖者斷而棄之於隱者. Section 喪大記, I.

[2] 麻服.

The reader must not suppose that this shabby attire of deep mourning is worn next to the skin. This may have been the case originally, in very ancient times, when people were still on the borders of savage life and the principle of denudation underlying mourning was carried out to the letter. Now-a-days the mourners always wear their ordinary body-clothing underneath it.

As may be seen from page 499, the sack-cloth attire was during the Cheu dynasty replaced after the burial by a dress of finer quality, made of the fibres of the Dolichos plant, which was probably worn thenceforth as an everyday dress till the first anniversary of the demise. A corresponding dress survives at the present day. It is, however, mostly of good linen or cotton which, being neither bleached nor dyed, has the light yellowish-brown colour nature lent it, and consequently represents an absence of all embellishment, which is one of the first requisites of mourning. It turns quite white after having been washed a couple of times; but this is by no means a reason for the mourner to discontinue wearing it.

The cut and make of the coat of this attire are perfectly like those of the sack-cloth coat. It has, however, no shoulder-pieces, and the sewing is better done, almost as well as for non-mourning dresses. Moreover, it has good cloth buttons and loop-holes, like those described on page 49; but custom forbids its having buttons of metal, these being considered too costly for a mourning dress. Amongst the fashionable classes it is longer than the coat of sack-cloth, being as long as the »long cloak" described on page 48; with the middle and lower class, however, it does not reach further than halfway down the thighs. Like the sack-cloth coat, it is ravelled out along the lower border, and the edges of the pieces peep out from the seam either on the breast or the back, or on both, which explains why it is popularly called *sàm pó̲ sa*^{m} [1], »coat with jagged seams".

With this coat, the people say, ought to be worn a pair of breeches of the same material. In reality, however, everybody wears with it any breeches he likes, provided they be not of silk, nor of such bright colours as at other times in general the Chinese are particularly fond of wearing; red in the first place custom peremptorily forbids. The shoes are shaped like those worn by

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[1] 鬚縫衫.

non-mourners, but they are of the same or a similar material to the coat. And as for the head-gear: — if a skull-cap (see page 48) is worn, it must be of an ashy colour, and the bunch of cords on the top must be white. Other caps or hats are not in general changed, a tape or strip of white linen or cotton being simply wound round them. The threads braided in the cue are likewise of white linen or cotton.

Female mourners of the first degree wear a *sàm pō̲ sa*^{m} similar to that of the men, and add a dark-coloured skirt, with shoes of linen or cotton. They dress their hair as in ordinary times, carefully avoiding, however, golden, gilded or coloured ornaments, and confining themselves to the use of hair-pins of bone or silver of very simple make. Customary law also forbids their wearing natural flowers in their hair, for it is a prevalent opinion that any mourner of the first degree who picks a flower before the twenty-seven months have elapsed, thereby furthers the decay of the corpse in the grave. No doubt this superstition is owing to the belief in the mysterious connection between the dead and trees or plants, of which we have spoken on pages 469 *et sqq*. Artificial flowers which are not red, reddish, or pink, are not forbidden by custom.

The above-described attire, in which silk may under no pretext whatever be worn, either by the men or by the women, is the everyday dress for mourners of the first degree, and is worn as such until the end of the twenty-seven months.

It is needless to say that the *sàm pō̲ sa*^{m} is another form of the sack-cloth coat, from which, as we have seen, it scarcely differs, either in cut or in shape. Probably sack-cloth was originally the exclusive attire for mourners, being afterwards replaced by such better material as was found to harmonize with the refinements of civilisation, but which was put on only at times when there were no ceremonies to be performed for the dead. It is perhaps to be attributed to this close relationship between the two coats in question that even now many orthodox mourners have a square piece of sack-cloth sewn inside the breast of the *sàm pō̲ sa*^{m}, a sheet representing the breast-piece of the sack-cloth coat of ancient times (see p. 496) and being also prescribed by the *Ta Ts*^{c}*ing luh li*.

Whenever a Chinese of the fashionable classes appears in sack-cloth attire, he wears a *sàm pō̲ sa*^{m} underneath it. He then also wears a so-called *t*^{c}*âo-peh*[1] or »head-kerchief", which is a piece of unbleached linen

[1] 頭帛.

or cotton, unhemmed, folded up diagonally a couple of times, so that it resembles a swaddling-band about six centimetres broad, from which a triangular point peeps out in the middle. In front of this point a small scrap of sack-cloth is inserted between the folds, and the kerchief is fastened around the head in such a way, that the said point stands erect over the forehead. For this reason the kerchief is called *sam-kak kun* [1], »kerchief with a triangle". When worn, it is scarcely visible, the »hempen helmet" being put on over it. It passes for a most important article in the mourning attire, its use being traceable to high antiquity, for the *Li ki* says (chapter 12, l. 29): »Dolichos cloth is worn as a »headband with the helmet, and thus they proceed to the funeral »of the dead; for this is the right way to keep up intercourse »with the soul, and a proof that feelings of reverence are enter»tained" [2]. Female mourners wear no such headband, but instead of it put on, underneath their hempen cowl, an inner cowl of unbleached linen or cotton. This is of similar cut and shape, excepting that the two pieces of which it is composed are not of different lengths.

As has been set forth on page 499, during the Cheu dynasty the deepest mourning dress was replaced by a slighter mourning attire at the end of one year after the decease, and again by a still slighter one at the end of two years. This rule still prevails now-a-days. When on the first anniversary of the demise the usual sacrifice has been presented in the house of mourning to the tablet wherein the soul resides — a ceremony in which all the principal mourners take an active part — the white threads braided in the cues are changed for blue ones, and the skull-caps or hats, and also the shoes, are replaced by others of a slightly coloured material, mostly by light blue ones, though other tints are allowed, red and reddish excepted. Also the women change their head-gear on this occasion, observing corresponding rules. Gaudery, and love of show and tinsel, which are features pre-dominating in the character of the well-to-do Chinese, have now full scope. The mourner has shoes made in which white, grey, blue, and other sedate colours are tastefully and harmoniously blended. He purchases some skull-caps

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[1] 三角巾.

[2] 弁絰葛而葬、與神交之道也、有敬心焉. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

of any sedate colours he thinks will be pleasing in the eyes of his fellow townsmen, giving a preference to those which are adorned with a black or white trimming stitched along the border, and for the sake of show he frequently changes his cap for one of another colour. And in winter, when overcoats cannot be dispensed with, he will have such a coat made of some good, dark coloured linen, cotton or woollen textile produced in his own Flowery Fatherland or in the countries of the barbarians beyond the seas. Chestnut colour is specially fancied, light blue, red and bright colours being still severely prohibited by custom. The coarse *sàm pǫ̀ sa*^{m} ought to be worn underneath the overcoat, for, theory says, it should not be put off before the twenty-seven months have elapsed; but most mourners do not put it on, as the overcoat would hide it entirely from view. In short, the fundamental principle of mourning, according to which it should consist in wearing the coarsest and poorest possible clothing, is much abused now-a-days.

And when another sacrifice is presented to the soul on the second anniversary of the demise, black strings are braided in the cues, and the everyday dresses of ordinary times are once more assumed, but silken stuffs and red colours are still prohibited. The women may now begin to wear in their hair artificial flowers of a pink or rosy colour, in lieu of the soft blue ones with which they have ornamented it in the preceding year.

Finally comes a sacrifice in the course of the twenty-seventh month, on an auspicious day fixed by the almanac or a »day-professor". On this occasion all mourning is put off for good and replaced by a dress of silk, that is to say, by such people as can afford to wear such costly material. The threads in the cue are then exchanged for red silk in those parts of the country where it is customary to wear red in the cue in ordinary times. Up to this date, wearing silk in any form whatever is systematically avoided, even in spite of the fact that during the good old Cheu dynasty the use of such material was allowed at the end of the first year (see p. 499). This does not, however, necessarily imply that the mourning rescripts are severer now than they were at that time. For, the choice of clothing material was much more restricted in pre-Christian ages than at present, woollen textiles, broadcloth etc., now imported in enormous quantities from abroad, being then entirely unknown in China.

As shown on pages 488 *seq.*, wearing ornaments on the body during the period of mourning was anciently severely forbidden by custom.

So it is now-a-days. Armlets and finger-rings wherewith so many men and women adorn themselves under ordinary circumstances, are scrupulously laid aside; but this rule does not extend to objects which pass for amulets and preservatives against the attacks of invisible malicious beings and are usually worn by the men upon their breasts, and by the women suspended from the heads of their hair-pins, or from their bracelets and anklets. In many cases such charms are of silver, being designed to serve at the same time as ornaments; yet this does not oblige the wearers to put them off when in mourning. For, the colour of silver, though bright and joyful, is not considered inconsistent with the simplicity of mourning, and besides — would it really not be demanding too much of good people who have sustained a loss by death, that they should increase their misery by exposing themselves defenceless to the attacks of the invisible powers of evil?

Fig. 27.

Male Mourner of the Second Degree.

We now come to the dress for mourners of the second degree.

It consists for both sexes of a coat shaped like the hempen coat of the first degree, but the threads of the textile it is made of are not so far distant from each other, there being both in the weft and the warp from six to eight threads to the centimetre. The name of this stuff is *dzī moá* [1], »hemp of the second quality", and

[1] 貳麻.

the coat is popularly called *dzī moâ sa*^{m} [1], »coat of second-rate hemp". The coat furthermore differs from the hempen coat of the first degree in this respect that it has no shoulder-pieces and has the whole lower border hemmed; moreover, the edges of the pieces which meet in the seams, all peep out therefrom on the inside of the garment. This is so in obedience to the ancient rule that mourning garments of the second degree should be trimmed (see page 511). The coat is worn exclusively on those occasions when mourners of the first degree appear in hemp (page 591), and a gown of unbleached cotton or linen is then invariably put on underneath it. This gown, called *péh pò sa*^{m} [2], »cloak of white linen or cotton cloth", is of the same shape as the blue gown or *tîng sa*^{m} worn by non-mourners, which we have had occasion to describe on page 48. Notable persons and fashionable people of the middle class generally have such a garment in store in their wardrobe, because they all have to use it often for paying visits of condolence, or when following more distant relatives, acquaintances and friends to the grave, or when they have to lend a helping hand in preparing dead bodies of such persons for the grave. The *péh pò sa*^{m} of female mourners is shorter, has very short, though spacious sleeves, and is, moreover, of a somewhat different make in front, in order that it may bear a resemblance to the jackets in fashion with women when not in mourning. A woman who wears the *dzī moâ sa*^{m} generally has on also a petticoat of the same kind of sack-cloth. This is in shape perfectly like the corresponding garment of the first degree, but hemmed along the lower border.

As to the head-gear belonging to this dress — for the men it is a cap of *dzī moâ*, shaped like a little square bag, the corners of which stand up to the right and left when it is placed upon the head. A kerchief of unbleached cotton or linen, folded up into a scarf of about a hand's breadth, then goes around the head over the place where the cap fits, and is knotted behind in such a wise that the two ends hang down a little over the neck. Cap and scarf together constitute what people call a *lao-pao* [3], which seems to mean »an envelope" or »enwrapping". It does not form a part of the mourning attire for women. They wear an outer cowl of *dzī moâ*, with an inner cowl of unbleached cotton or linen, both shaped like the corresponding articles for the first degree

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[1] 貳麻衫. [2] 白布衫. [3] 包包.

of mourning; but they are hemmed, and the edges of the two pieces of which the cowls are made, protrude from the seams on the inside.

Straw sandals are not seldom worn with this attire. Custom permits, however, of their being replaced by shoes of the ordinary shape, made of yellowish unbleached linen and with bindings of bleached material.

The occasions on which this costume is worn complete are the four last of those enumerated on page 591. Many a woman on visiting the house of death before the burial, wears the *péh pò sam* alone, but male mourners scarcely ever do so.

The rule dictated by the *I li* and the *Ta Tsʿing luh li* that a staff must be carried for certain relatives who fall within the second degree of mourning, is practically conformed to only by husbands, for their wife, and alone when her corpse is being conveyed to the grave. The widowed husband then walks in front of the coffin (see page 195), carrying a rough, plain stick, pasted all over with white paper. Any sort of wood or bamboo is deemed suitable for it and often the first stick or object resembling a stick, that can be laid hold of, is taken; sometimes it is longer than the man who carries it, at other times it is shorter. The reader may see from this that no regard is paid to the ancient rescripts which have been reproduced on pages 494 and 512. The staff is styled in the popular tongue *khok san tiōng* [1], »howling and mourning staff". In conformity with the *Ta Tsʿing luh li* (see p. 552, no. 4), widowers abstain from carrying it if either their father or mother be still alive. This rule owes its existence to the *Li ki*, which says (ch. 54, l. 3): »No staff is carried for a wife if either father »or mother be still alive, nor is respect shown her by bowing the »head to the ground" [2]. Another chapter of the same work (70, l. 37) »has: While one's father is still alive, one does not presume to use a »staff, because there is a person still living who has authority over »him" [3]. Indeed, as has been shown on page 494 by an extract from the *I li*, the staff was anciently a badge of authority, which might be carried by high dignitaries and leaders only, and accordingly also by parents in their quality of »highest persons in autho-

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1 哭喪杖.

2 爲妻、父母在、不杖、不稽顙. Section 雜記, I, 2.

3 則父在不敢杖矣、尊者在、故也. Section 間喪.

rity" in the family. Before the death of his parents no authority whatever could be exercised by a son; hiao or absolute submission was still his highest duty, and hence his carrying a staff would be naturally interpreted as revolting against the hiao.

Excepting on the few occasions, mentioned above, when this attire is worn complete, mourners of the second degree are allowed to dress in whatever garments they please, provided no silk, red, or other bright and conspicuous colour be worn. Their shoes, cue-threads, and the bunch on the skull-cap must be blue. Corresponding rules obtain for women. After one hundred days it is no longer necessary to conform to these rescripts dictated by custom, and everybody re-assumes his usual attire, still avoiding, however, red previous to the sacrifice on the first anniversary of the demise, the celebration of which the mourners of the second degree as a rule attend in person, at which time they put off their mourning for good on the spot.

Very little remains to be said about the mourning costumes for the third, fourth and fifth degree. Practically these do not differ from each other in any respect worthy of notice. All three are similar to the dress of the second degree, except that the sack-cloth is replaced by the so-called *toē pò̱* [1], which is a gauze-like, yellowish-grey textile of flax or grass-cloth, unbleached and undyed, and so thin and loosely woven that one can easily see through a fourfold layer of it; further, the *péh pò̱ sam*, the scarf of the *lao-pao*, and the inner cowl of the female dress are all of bleached linen or cotton, and straw sandals are not worn. When they do not wear this mourning on the specific occasions mentioned on page 591, the mourners of the three lower degrees can be distinguished outwardly from non-mourners only by a blue bunch of cords on the skull-cap, worn instead of the ordinary red bunch.

Sons-in-law, in mourning for their parents-in-law in the fifth degree (page 560, no. 21) wear a special gown of unbleached linen or cotton, in cut and shape exactly like the »inner cloak" with horse-hoof shaped sleeves, which forms a part of the ceremonial attire of the fashionable classes and which has been described on page 49. It is fastened round the waist by a broad strip of the same material of which the gown is made, and in this sash a

[1] 紵布 or 苧布.

small scrap of red material is stuck on the frontside of the body. The head is covered as in the second degree of mourning, the cap being, however, of *toē pò̲* and the headband of unbleached linen or cotton; the ends of the latter, which hang down from the knot at the back of the head, reach nearly to the waist.

Although not required by either law or custom to mourn for his wife's grandparents, a married man will assume for them at the burial and the other important funeral rites a costume of quite the same make as that which he wears for his wife's parents. The gown is, however, of *toē pò̲*, and the sash and headband are of bleached linen or cotton.

Apart from the sundry costumes for the five degrees, custom has brought into existence a special attire for married men who attend the important funeral ceremonies of their wife's nearest relatives for whom neither the *I li*, nor the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* prescribe any mourning, such as her brothers and sisters, paternal uncles, and so forth. It consists of a gown of bleached cotton or linen, cut and made exactly like the *péh pò̲ sa*^{m} of the second degree, and further of a cap of the same material, shaped like a small square bag and having parallel perpendicular folds both at the front and the back. The lower border of this cap is folded upward and fastened, so that it runs round the border like a hem of about two fingers' breadth, and a narrow piece of bright red stuff is inserted therein in such a wise, that it peeps out a little over the whole frontside. This red stuff intimates that the wearer of this dress is not virtually in mourning, red being, as our readers know, excluded from mourning in all the five degrees. The same gown is worn for a friend who is not a kinsman; the cap, however, is then of unbleached material and has no red in it.

Herewith ends our description of the modern mourning dress, although we could give many minor details. It is scarcely necessary to add that many deviations are to be found throughout the Empire, fashion influencing it everywhere. Yet, in the main, the Amoy dress may be fairly considered as typical of the whole Realm, the rules dictated by antiquity and by the present Code of Laws probably being acted upon everywhere to a great extent. Let the reader, however, not suppose that all classes of society observe the standard rules in respect of mourning attire with the same degree of care and accuracy. The common peasantry, coolies and such like people do not bother their minds at all about it, unless they have to take part in such ceremonies as are mentioned on page 591; they continue

to wear their ordinary blue garb, changing nothing but the threads in their cue, for which they substitute white ones on the death of their father or mother. Perhaps they soothe their consciences by the consideration that, whereas they never in their lives wear anything else but cheap clothing of linen or cotton, they are, so to say, clad in mourning continuously, and consequently need no special mourning dress. Besides, it would ill suit them to wear undyed garments, as the rough labour by which they gain their livelihood always renders them liable to dirt. In some parts of the country, mourners of this class of people are wont to sew a square scrap of white linen or cotton, about a couple of centimetres in breadth, on their sleeve or their breast, and to wear a narrow ribbon of the same material around their hat.

From what has been adduced in the above pages it is perfectly evident that the opinion, generally prevailing among Europeans and pronounced by many an author on China, that white is the colour of mourning in the Middle Kingdom, is totally false. The truth is, that the mourning colour there consists in the absence of any artificial tint, in other words, it is the original colour which nature has lent to hempen and other textiles. Even the white colour produced by simply bleaching the material is, as the reader has seen, excluded from deep mourning and allowed only in slighter mourning; hence it takes the part of what we might call semi-mourning. White is not even mentioned by name in any mourning rescript of the *I li*, the *Li ki* or other works consulted by us, but they all indicate mourning dress very often by the term 素服, which means properly a dress of plain material, unbleached and undyed. The term 白衣, »white dress", is never used in China in any other sense than that of the dress of the laity, in contra-distinction to that of the Buddhist clergy, who wear no undyed garments. It probably owes its existence to the fact that, during summer, nearly the whole of the higher and middle class in China dress in white; and this would certainly not be the case were white the colour of mourning, every Chinaman being thoroughly convinced that mourning clothes exercise a disastrous, nay, a deadly influence on whomsoever and whatsoever they come in contact with. A special word will be devoted to this superstition on pages 640 *et sqq.*

After white, or, correctly speaking, the colour of bleached linen or cotton, light blue plays a part in semi-mourning, as the reader has seen. The reason is obvious: light blue is a colour produced by a slight quantity of indigo, which is the commonest tincture

for clothes the Chinese possess, and wearing garments of this hue therefore is naturally considered as a first step from undyed garments to brightly coloured materials.

The hair and coiffure in the time of mourning.

In several places of this chapter it has been shown that, both in ancient and modern times, the treatment of the hair during the period of mourning was in China subject to certain rules. We have now to direct the reader's attention to the details of this matter.

Now-a-days, in a case of death, the principal mourners of the male sex remove the braiding threads from their cues when they go out into the street to receive the empty coffin, and also during the burial, on both of which occasions they wear also the very deepest mourning attire (see p. 591). The long hair, quite dishevelled, flows down over the back in disorder. After the burial the cue is always braided up, even on occasions when the sack-cloth is put on; but the threads used may not be of silk until the end of twenty-seven months. They are of white linen or cotton during the first year, and of blue during the second (pages 593 and 594).

There cannot be a doubt that wearing the hair quite loose on the two most important occasions of mourning betokens a sacrificing to the deceased all one's articles of dress to the very last, including even the head-gear. Anciently, we have seen on page 476, it was customary to divest one's self of cap and other things serving to keep the hair together, and simply to coil it up on the top of the head. Considering the matter from this point of view, it is quite clear why the unbraided hair ceases after the burial. Originally, everything, including the clothing, was offered to the dead in the last instance at his burial, having to be enclosed with him in the grave; but after the interment this self-bereavement was gradually relaxed, and it ended at the close of the mourning period (comp. page 481).

That mourners wear no silk for braiding up their cues must, it seems, be ascribed to the *Li ki*, which has (ch. 45, l. 2): »In » the mourning of the first degree the hair is tied up with hemp, » and this material is used also for binding it together when in » mourning for a mother" [1].

From the moment life has passed away, the sons and the other

[1] 斬衰括髮以麻、爲母括髮以麻. Section 喪服小記, I.

male mourners of the highest degree may not have their heads or faces shaved, but it is not necessary for them to abstain from the regular unbraiding of the cue by the barber for the purpose of combing dandruff, dust and insects out of it. As a consequence, the black hairs grow up like bristles around the long hairs of the crown which form the cue, giving to a man in mourning a rather unsightly, sometimes a repulsive appearance, which is not improved by the stray black hairs which show themselves on his cheeks and chin. This neglecting of the hair and face extends until the hundredth day. Many people, however, get shaved immediately after the burial, and then abstain from the use of the razor for one hundred days.

This abjuration of all the comforts of the tonsorial art is likewise rooted in antiquity. As the episode relating to the appointment of a successor to Shih Tai-chung from among his sons (see page 489) proves, mourners were imperatively commanded in the seventh century before our era to abstain from washing their heads and bathing their bodies; other passages relative to this rescript have been reproduced on page 504. These show that cleansing the head and body was anciently prohibited for about three months. Nevertheless this period has been prolonged by posterity to one hundred days, for some reason for which we cannot account. The *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* has: »All those who are in the three years' mourning have their hair »shaven after a hundred days; those who mourn for a year, after »two months; those who mourn for nine or five months, after one »month; and those who mourn for three months, after ten days"[1]. Abstaining from washing the body has, it seems, fallen entirely into disuse, nothing of the kind being, as far as we are aware, required now-a-days from mourners, either by written law, or by custom.

As to female mourners of the first degree — until the completion of the burial, or, if this be deferred for a considerable time, till the coffin is stored away in the house or in some spot out of doors (see pages 106, and 127 *sqq.*), their neglect of the coiffure consists in the first place in not using ornamentation of any kind for the head, including hair-pins and ear-rings of even the simplest description. During the whole of that time they

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[1] 凡喪三年者百日薙髮、期之喪二月薙髮、九月五月者踰月薙髮、三月者踰旬薙髮. Chapter 52, l. 6.

dispense, moreover, with cosmetics, face-powder and other ingredients for painting and rouging. When the burial, or the storing away of the coffin, is over, hair-pins and similar instruments begin to play their part once more, though under the restrictions already mentioned on page 593.

For the same hundred days during which the men are not shaven, the women under no pretext whatever subject themselves to a so-called »plucking the face", *bán bīn* [1], an operation which girls and coquettish young wives are wont to undergo from time to time. It has for its object the removal of the downy hairs from their faces. As a rule it is performed by professional old damsels, whose skill chiefly consists in extricating these hairs one by one with a running noose made in a thread; one end of this thread the performer holds between her teeth, the other end in her right hand, and the noose in her left. The process is facilitated by powdering the face and moistening the thread. The razor would do the work in a less painful way; but it is not considered so efficacious by the women because it cannot prevent the down from growing up anew, and renders it even more stubby.

The rescript of the *Ta Ts^{c}ing t^{c}ung li*, reproduced on the foregoing page, forbids mourners of the four lower degrees to shave their heads before a certain lapse of time. Yet this is seldom conformed to by mourners of the second and third degree, and hardly ever by the rest. Without any qualms of conscience they all apply to the barber as soon as they think fit, and they are specially quick to do so when their profession or social standing obliges them to appear in society neat and clean. Some strictly abstain from having the skull shaved, but allow the barber to do his work regularly upon their faces as if nothing had happened. Others have the stubble on their heads trimmed with scissors, this not being forbidden by the letter of the law.

The mourning of mortuary houses.

Popular custom at Amoy requires the house in which a father or mother has died, to be draped with badges of mourning, as long as the children have to wear mourning dress.

The last breath is scarcely drawn, when the three long strips of red paper, which are affixed horizontally at nearly every housedoor over the lintel and vertically along the posts, mostly displaying

[1] 挽面.

inscriptions which betoken bliss and happiness, are each pasted over with a sheet of unwritten paper of a white or black colour, so that they are entirely, or almost entirely, hidden from view. And the inscriptions or human figures, which are painted or, drawn on paper, pasted on each door-leaf of the main entrance at the houses of the moneyed and fashionable class, are dealt with in a similar way. After a year, when, as our readers know, the family assume the slighter mourning, they post up new inscribed strips on the old spots, using blue paper in case it is the father of the family who has departed this life, and yellow, in case it is his wife proper. And at the end of the second year, when the mourning is again reduced, the strips are replaced by others of a pink hue, which are finally exchanged for red ones, such as are in use in ordinary times, on the day when the sacrifice which concludes the mourning is solemnly presented to the dead at the domestic altar. A similar course is followed by many in regard of the big globular paper lanterns, which are suspended under the roof on the premises of fashionable Chinese houses.

4. Music prohibited during Mourning.

A few matters relating to mourning ancient and modern have still to be passed in review. In the first place, some forms of abstinence which, to avoid confusion, we have deferred to the latter part of this chapter.

Already in the most ancient times on record in native literature, music was forbidden to mourners. Mourning being in point of fact a renunciation of all superfluous luxury, it is but natural that music, a means of merry-making for the living, should before all things be vetoed by customary law. Moreover, in the darkest mist of ages, when nearly everything the dead man left behind was placed in his grave, the rude instruments of music in the possession of the family followed to the same place, as they could be dispensed with by the survivers better than anything else. Does not this explain why, as has been stated on pp. 392, 394 and 403, musical instruments were interred with emperors and grandees during the dynasties of Cheu and Han in such large quantities?

It is recorded of Yao [1], an emperor who, according to Chi-

[1] 堯.

nese chronologists, lived more than twenty-three centuries before our era, that »in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, when he » died and the whole people mourned for him for three years as for » a father or a mother, the musical instruments between the four » seas were stopped and stored away" [1]. In the *Li ki* the prohibitions against having music while in mourning are pretty numerous. Its sixth chapter (l. 20) says: »When in mourning, one does not talk of music" [2], and in the eleventh chapter (l. 55) we read: »After » the Sacrifice of Felicity (at the end of the second year) a cap » of plain undyed silk is assumed [3]; in the month which follows » thereon comes the sacrifice which concludes the mourning, and » in the ensuing month the mourners may take to their music" [4]. This rescript is corroborated by the following episode, likewise recorded in the *Li ki* (ch. 9, l. 44): »When Ming Hien-tszĕ had » presented the sacrifice which concluded his mourning, he had » the instruments of music suspended from their stands, but did » not play them, and though he might have approached his wife » and concubines, he did not enter their apartments. The Sage » said: 'Hien-tszĕ excels other men by one degree'" [5]. Of Confucius we read in the same work (chapter 9, l. 48) that »after the Sacri- » fice of Felicity he began to handle his cithern during five days, » without, however, producing perfect sounds out of it; and ten » days later he played the Pandean pipe and sang" [6].

People mourning in the second and in the third degree had also to abstain from music, but, as was the case with all other forms of abstinence dictated by the rules of mourning, this rescript was not pushed so far in their case as in that of mourners of the first degree. »When a father wears mourning", says the *Li ki* (ch. 56, l. 8), »his son, if he lives in the same house with him, keeps

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1 二十有八載帝乃殂落、百姓如喪考妣三載、四海遏密八音. *Shu king*, section 舜典.

2 居喪不言樂. Section 曲禮, II, 1.

3 Comp. page 499.

4 祥而縞、是月禫、徙月樂. Section 檀弓, I, 3.

5 孟獻子禫、縣而不樂、比御而不入。夫子曰、獻子加於人一等矣. Section 檀弓, I, 1.

6 孔子既祥、五日彈琴而不成聲、十日而成笙歌. Section 檀弓, I, 1.

» away from all music. And when a mother wears mourning, her » son may listen to the tones of music, but not play himself. » When a wife wears mourning, her husband does not make music » by her side. When an occasion for wearing the mourning of the » third degree is about to occur, the citherns and lutes are laid » aside; but if it be merely an occasion for mourning of the fourth » degree, music is not discontinued" [1].

But the customs of social life went even further than forbidding music in cases of death to mourners only. This is taught us by the following passages in chapter 4 (l. 36) and chapter 9 (l. 23) of the *Li ki*: »When there are mourning rites in his neighbourhood, » one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. And when » there is a corpse in his village temporarily buried, one should » not sing in the streets" [2]. Still another chapter of the *Li ki* (12, l. 8) says: »When one pays a visit of condolence, he does not make any music on the same day" [3].

All those rescripts evidently referred to such music only as was made for the amusement of the living. Music performed for edifying or worshipping the soul of the deceased was not forbidden, for, as the reader has seen on pages 158 *seq.* from a series of citations, it occupied an important part at the burial, though this constituted the most mournful event in the whole mourning period. Still at the present day musicians appear in every burial procession, as we have stated on page 158. Moreover, they are employed when the empty coffin is carried to the mortuary house and the corpse is solemnly inclosed therein (pages 87 *seq.*); during the rites for the salvation of the soul, which in many cases are celebrated before the burial (page 124); finally, during the great requiem mass and other sacrificial ceremonies of import, which will be described in other volumes of this work.

To have music during mourning is still forbidden now-a-days not only by custom, but also by the laws and statutes of the Empire.

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[1] 父有服、宮中子不與於樂。母有服、聲聞焉、不舉樂。妻有服、不舉樂於其側。大功將至、辟琴瑟、小功至、不絶樂. Section 雜記, II, 2.

[2] 鄰有喪、舂不相。里有殯、不巷歌. Section 曲禮, I, 4, and section 檀弓, I, 1.

[3] 弔於人、是日不樂. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

It is, however, not so much the music itself that is struck at, as the festivities at which music is employed. The *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* has: » Those who are in mourning abstain altogether from participating in festive meals or musical entertainments" [1]. And the Code of Laws has heavy penalties in store for those who violate this rescript. The reader knows this from an article reproduced on page 568, but the Code contains also the following clause: » Should » such individuals among the people as are in mourning or have a » burial to perform, club together and have theatricals or miscel- » laneous pieces played, or other representations of the kind; or » should they have Buddhistic theatricals performed and sung, » with accompaniment of bamboo flutes and silken strings, the local » officers shall interfere with severity, and put a stop to it. Should » these officers disobey this rescript, they shall be punished according to » the articles which provide against transgressions of the laws" [2].

Now-a-days, at Amoy and in its environs, any person who is recognizable as a mourner by his dress avoids all occasions of merry-making at which music is made, also theatricals and punch-and-judy shows, these being invariably accompanied with music and singing. Popular odium would attach to any one behaving otherwise, at least there would be plenty of tongues to criticize such conduct in an unfriendly spirit. Devotion to the memory of the deceased kinsman or kinswoman has not much to do with this matter, nor has the fear of the law, this being not so much directed against mourners who attend the festivities of others, as against mourners who might be shameless enough to organize for themselves occasions for amusement.

5. Abstaining from Sexual Intercourse and Marriage while in Mourning.

Mourning in ancient China meant expropriating one's self temporarily of all one's possessions. As a natural consequence custom then

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1 在喪均不與燕樂. Chapter 52, l. 6.

2 民間喪葬之事凡有聚集演戲及扮演雜劇等類、或用絲竹管絃演唱佛戲者、該地方官嚴行禁止。違者照違制律治罪. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chapter 17, § 喪葬.

required mourners to divest themselves for a time also of their wives and concubines, who constituted mere objects of wealth, as is nearly always the case among uncivilized and semi-barbarian peoples.

It is therefore not surprising to read in the *Li ki* that Ming Hien-tszĕ did not indulge in intercourse with his women until the seven-and-twenty months of his mourning were past, and that he earned Confucius's praise for this commendable conduct (see p. 606). Just as little can we be amazed to find in the same work the following passage (ch. 58, l. 22): »After the sacrifice which concludes » the mourning of twenty-seven months, the mourner re-occupies » himself with his wives. And if he occupies the shed in the one » year's mourning [1], he has no intercourse with the women in his » inner apartments until the end of the mourning, if this is for » his mother while his father is still alive. But if he wears the » one year's mourning of the coat with trimmed edges for his » wife [2], or the coat of coarse stuff for nine months, he then » abstains from intercourse with the inmates of his inner apartments » for three months" [3].

Sexual intercourse during mourning being prohibited by the law of custom, it is quite natural that marriages during that period should also be prohibited. No doubt a second consideration then entered into the matter: — marriage being the happiest event in one's life, and as such connected exclusively with festivity and merriment, it could not be combined with mourning, which represented the greatest adversity. To express this in the Chinese way: kih 吉 and hiung 凶, which represent respectively felicity and adversity, can never meet in harmony, but must always exercise a detrimental effect upon each other, nay even neutralize one another; and to neutralize mourning in the least, which is created by adversity, is a sin against hiao.

»A woman", says the *Li ki* (ch. 40, l. 48), »is married out in her » twentieth year, but she is married in her twenty-third if a case of » death has befallen her" [4]. Confucius went so far as to order that wed-

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1 That is to say, at the death of his mother. Comp. page 482, and 515 no. 5.

2 See page 515, no. 6.

3 禫而從御。期居廬、終喪不御於內者、父在爲母。爲妻齊衰期者、大功布衰九月者、皆三月不御於內. Section 喪大記, II.

4 二十而嫁、有故、二十三年而嫁. Section 內則, II.

dings which were on the point of being consummated, should be postponed at the last moment, if the father or mother of one of the parties died suddenly. »When", says the *Li ki* (ch. 26, l. 25 *et sqq.*), »Tseng-tszĕ asked: 'Suppose that, after the betrothal money »has been received and an auspicious day has been fixed in accord- »ance with the rules of marriages, the father or the mother of »the girl die, what course should then be adopted?' — the Sage »replied:

»'The son-in-law shall send some one to condole. And if it be »his own father or mother who has died, the family of the girl »shall in the same way send some one to present their condolences. »And when the son-in-law has buried his dead, his father's elder »brother shall send a message to the family of the girl, saying: »'The son of So-and-so, being occupied with the mourning for his »father or mother, cannot become a brother to you; through me »So-and-so, he conveys this message to you'. The girl's family then »acquiesce in this message and do not presume to have the mar- »riage solemnized. This is the rule prescribed by good custom.

»'And when the son-in-law is discharged from his mourning, »the parents of the girl shall send a messenger to him, to request »him to fulfil his engagement. He shall then not come immedia- »tely to fetch her to his house, but she shall be married to him »after some time. This is a rule prescribed by good custom. A »similar course shall be followed by the son-in-law in case the father »or mother of the girl be carried off by death'.

»'But', asked Tseng-tszĕ again, 'if the bridegroom has already »fetched the bride from her home, and his father or mother die »while she is on the way with him, what shall be done?'

»Confucius said: 'The lady shall then change her dress, and with »the long linen robe on, and the white band around her hair, »shall hasten to the scene of mourning. If, while she is on the »way, it be her own father or mother who has died, she shall »return home'"[1].

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[1] 曾子問曰、昏禮既納幣、有吉日、女之父母死、則如之何。孔子曰、壻使人弔。如壻之父母死、則女之家亦使人弔。壻已葬、壻之伯父致命女氏曰、某之子有父母之喪、不得嗣爲兄弟、使某致命。女氏許諾、而弗敢嫁。禮也。壻免喪、

It seems that during the Han dynasty the procreation of children while in mourning for a father or mother was severely condemned by the orthodox, though by no means considered wrong by the bulk of the people. This conclusion is forced upon us by the following tale of the second century of our era, recorded in the Standard Annals of that time: »Among the people there was one Chao »Suen, who, after having buried his parents, did not close the »passage which formed the entrance to their grave, but settled »therein, observing mourning for more than one score years. As »his fellow townsmen spoke in high terms of his filial devotion, the »magistrates of the district frequently sent to him ceremonious in- »vitations. Some parties in the district having recommended him »to Ch'en Fan (the Governor), this grandee paid him a visit and »asked him about his wife and sons; and on learning that his »five sons had all been begotten by him while he was in mourn- »ing, he exclaimed with deep indignation: 'And such a man sleeps »in the grave and therein brings about pregnancy and childbirth! »how he has deceived his contemporaries, led astray the masses, »soiled the manes of the dead!' He thereupon brought Chao »Suen to justice for that offence" [1].

女之父母使人請壻。弗取、而後嫁之。禮也。女之父母死、壻亦如之。曾子問曰、親迎、女在塗而壻之父母死、如之何。孔子曰、女改服、布深衣縞總以趨喪。女在塗而女之父母死、則女反。

Section 曾子問, I.

From this extract we must deduce the fact that, in those times, the completion of a marriage was the progress of the bride from the home of her parents. Indeed, her having to put on mourning dress immediately and to hurry to the house of her parents-in-law in case one of these happened to die whilst she was on the way, shows convincingly that the most sacred duty of a daughter-in-law, viz. to mourn for her husband's parents, was deemed then already to be incumbent on her to its fullest extent. Her duty to return to her own home if her own father or mother died, does not refute this, as there is nothing in the text which justifies the inference that her marriage was not considered fully consummated when on the way to the bridegroom's home. Sü shi-tseng 徐師曾, an author of the Ming dynasty, writes that »she would then live at the house of the son-in-law" 女居壻家. See the Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, *in loc. cit.*

[1] 民有趙宣、葬親而不閉埏隧、因居其中、行服二十餘年。鄉邑稱孝、州郡數禮請之。郡內以薦(陳)蕃、蕃與相見、問及妻子、而宣五子皆服中

In the books of later ages we have not found anymore of such passages justifying the conclusion that conception and procreation during mourning were stigmatized as crimes. Probably this is to be attributed to the circumstance that another tenet, teaching that every one is in duty bound to procure a numerous progeny with a view to the perpetuation of ancestral worship, has imposed silence upon all opposite considerations of whatever sort or kind. This tenet was advocated with special ardour by Mencius, who is recorded to have exclaimed: »There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no offspring is the greatest of these" [1]. Still now-a-days it stands foremost among the maxims of social life, and is the main incentive to the system of adoption, which has been borrowed almost unmodified from the ancients.

Hence it is that successive dynasties have not troubled themselves very much about forbidding marriage during mourning. However, prohibitions of this kind have not been expunged for good from amongst the matters which claim the attention of the legislator. We read *e. g.* that Shih Lih [2], a warlike adventurer, who having assumed in A. D. 319 the sovereignty of the realm of Chao [3] which extended over the present provinces of Shantung, Chihli and Shansi, spared no pains to imitate the lawful imperial government by copying a good many of its institutions, and he »issued a decree which forbade the people of his realm to marry »while in mourning" [4]. And of the emperor Chang Tsung [5] of the Kin dynasty it is recorded: »In the fifth year of the period Ch'ing »ngan (A. D. 1200), in the third month, he decreed that, in »regard of the consummation of marriages while in mourning for »a deceased wife, it should be lawful to set aside the prevailing »rescripts. And in the seventh month of the same year he or»dained that it should henceforth be permitted to disregard the

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所生、蓄大怒曰、乃寢宿冢藏、而孕育其中、誣時、惑衆、誣汚鬼神乎。遂致其罪. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 96, l. 1 *seq.*

1 不孝有三、無後爲大. The Works of Mencius, section 離婁, I.

2 石勒.

3 趙.

4 下書禁國人不聽在喪婚娶. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 105, l. 2.

5 章宗.

» law in cases of marriage concluded by those in mourning for a » grandfather or his wife" [1]. Finally we find that marrying while in mourning was officially forbidden during the Ming dynasty. It is stated that Kih-shun [2], a prince of imperial blood, in the year of our Lord 1459 requested the Son of Heaven to grant him permission to marry a concubine, and at the same time to allow his sister to be married out, in spite of their mourning for their father. Soothsayers had declared that in the year following after the close of their mourning there was not a single auspicious day suitable for the solemnization of their weddings. But the President of the Board of Rites protested, declaring that not only the ritual institutions were opposed to such a thing, but that also »the Law contained clauses, clearly and plainly forbidding the solemnization of marriages while in mourning" [3]. A few more such extracts lie before us; but it is needless to reproduce them.

The Ts'ing dynasty at present seated on the throne, carrying to its ultimate consequences the great principle that good government consists in moulding all institutions carefully upon those of ancient China, has revived the rescripts of the *Li ki* concerning sexual intercourse and marriage during mourning by re-casting them into an article for its *T'ung li*, and by inserting at the same time in its Code of Laws some clauses which threaten with severe punishments those who venture to solemnize such marriages. In the first mentioned work we read: »Those who are in the three years' mourning » may not abide in the inner apartments (reserved for the women), » and those who mourn for one year shall not marry so long as their » mourning lasts" [4]. For the three lower degrees of mourning this work contains no such prohibitions. And the Code of Laws has:

»If a man or woman who is in mourning for his or her father or » mother, or a wife or concubine who is in mourning for her hus» band, marry, or marry herself out, disposing of himself (or herself) » in his (or her) marriage, a punishment of one hundred blows with

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1 承安五年三月定、妻亡服內婚娶聽離制。七月定、居祖父母喪婚娶聽離法. History of the Kin Dynasty, chapter 11, l. 7.

2 佶焞.

3 服內成親律有明禁. *Jih chi luh*, chapter 15, l. 29.

4 凡喪三年者不處內、期之喪在喪不昏嫁. Chapter 52, l. 6.

» the long stick shall be administered. If, while in such mourning, » a man marries a concubine, or a woman marries herself out as » a concubine, the punishment shall be abated by two degrees. In » each of the above cases the parties shall be divorced.

» Masters of the marriage (see the next page) on both sides, who » have had a hand in such a forbidden marriage, shall be punished » five degrees less severely if they knew that one of the parties con- » cerned was in mourning, and the betrothal money[1] and the pre- » sents shall then be confiscated. Were they, however, ignorant of » the said circumstance, then they shall not be punished, and the » money and presents shall be restituted, though the divorce shall » take place all the same.

» Any person who, while in mourning for his (or her) paternal » grandfather or his wife, or for a paternal uncle or his wife, or » for a paternal aunt (living in the paternal home), or for an elder » brother, or for an elder sister (living in the paternal home), » marries, or marries herself out, shall receive eighty blows with » the long stick, but the parties shall not have to be divorced. If » in such mourning a man marries a concubine, or a woman marries » herself out as a concubine, the matter shall not be prosecuted. » This clause does not apply to grandsons who have inherited the » important charge"[2], that is to say, to any man who has become the Continuator of his ancestors by reason of his father's death, for, having to mourn for his paternal grandparents in the first degree, he comes under the first clause of this article if he marries during such mourning.

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1 Purchase-money paid for the bride by the family of the bridegroom to the so-called » masters of her marriage", being her near relations who have a right to dispose of her in marriage. Compare the next page.

2 凡男女居父母及妻妾居夫喪、而身自主婚嫁娶者、杖一百。若男子居父母喪、而娶妾、妻居夫喪、女居父母喪而嫁人爲妾者、各減二等。並離異.

知係居喪而共爲婚姻者主婚人各減五等、財禮入官。不知者不坐、追財禮、仍離異.

若居祖父母、伯叔父母、姑、兄、姊喪、除承重孫外、而嫁娶者、杖八十、不離異。妾不坐. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chapter 10, § 居喪嫁娶.

»Any person who, being in mourning for his (or her) father or »mother, or for her husband's father or mother, or for her hus- »band, marries out a person of whom he (or she) has the right to »dispose in marriage, shall receive eighty blows with the long »stick, even though there may be no other lawful impediment »to the marriage"[1].

The above articles refer to persons who marry of their own free will, disposing of themselves in marriage. In by far the most cases, however, young people are wedded by their so-called chu-hwun[2], »those who are the masters of their marriage", relations who, as the word indicates, in ordinary circumstances have an unlimited right to assign them to such a bride or bride-groom as they deem to be a suitable match, and whose dispositions in this respect must be implicitly obeyed. Those masters are, in the first place, the parents, and these failing, the paternal grandparents, and subsequently the paternal uncles, beginning from the eldest, and so on, as set forth in the next paragraph. Whenever a marriage of this sort is solemnized during mourning, it falls under another article of the Code, which runs as follows:

»On any transgression of the laws in matters of marriage »the punishments demanded shall be inflicted upon the mas- »ters of the marriage alone, and not upon the bridegroom and »bride, in case it was arranged by the paternal grandparents, or »by the parents, or by the paternal uncles and their wives, or by »(unmarried) paternal aunts, or by elder brothers or (unmarried) »elder sisters, or by the grandparents on the mother's side. If »other kinsmen have arranged it [that is to say, the inferiors and »juniors among those that are to be mourned for during one year, or »superiors and inferiors, seniors and juniors who must be mourned »for in the third, the fourth or the fifth degree], then the »masters shall be considered as the chief culprits if they have »been the authors of the offence, and the married couple shall be »dealt with as accomplices, and as such undergo a punishment »which is one degree lighter. If, however, the married parties »themselves were the authors of the offence, then they shall be »considered the chief culprits, and the masters of the marriage

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[1] 若居父母舅姑及夫喪、而與應嫁娶人主婚者、杖八十. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[2] 主婚.

» shall be punished one degree less severely, in the quality of accom-
» plices.

» The offence shall not be considered to have been committed
» by the married parties if they have been constrained to it by
» intimidation and compulsion on the part of the masters of their
» marriage. In this case, punishment shall be inflicted upon the
» masters of the marriage alone, and not upon the married couple;
» so also if, without the masters having made use of intimidation
» or compulsion, the bridegroom were under twenty years of age
» and the bride were living in her paternal home" [1].

Besides showing that the authority over a child devolves at the death of its parents upon the other kinsmen in conformity with the degrees of relationship as fixed by the official registers of mourning, the above two paragraphs of the law are interesting as testifying to the stress laid by modern legislators upon submission to the elders of the clan. Even in matters of their own marriage, every one, both man and woman, must submit implicitly to the will of him or her for whom they have to mourn in the first degree, or to the superiors and seniors of the second degree, and are therefore not punishable even though the marriage be in the most flagrant opposition to sacred custom and written Imperial law. Only against kinsmen more removed may the parties oppose their will, should attempts be made to unite them in a marriage forbidden by the law. They *must* then oppose until subjected by main force, in order to escape being treated as accomplices, unless the bridegroom can plead infancy (being under twenty), and the bride that she lived in the circle of her clans-people and was therefore under their absolute power.

In spite of official rescripts and the written law, many a man in

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[1] 凡嫁娶違律、若由男女之祖父母、父母、伯叔父母、姑、兄、姊、及外祖父母主婚者、違律之罪獨坐主婚、男女不坐。餘親主婚者[餘親謂期親卑幼及大功以下尊長卑幼主婚者]事由主婚、主婚爲首、男女爲從、得減一等。事由男女、男女爲首、主婚爲從、得減一等.

其男女被主婚人威逼、事不由已。若男年二十歲以下、及在室之女、雖非威逼、亦獨坐主婚、男女俱不坐. The same chapter, § 嫁娶違律主婚媒人罪.

Amoy does not refrain from marrying a wife, while in mourning even for his father or mother. There is, however, then no festive celebration, no music, no merry-making of any kind. The woman is not transferred to the home of the partner of her future joys and sorrows in the usual bridal palankeen, adorned with gaudy colours, richly gilt, and ornamented with wood cuttings and all those things which are supposed to be efficacious in expelling evil spirits and the misfortunes caused thereby. But she is then seated in an ordinary sedan-chair, which is devoid of all ornamentation. Such a clandestine wedding is styled a *sūn hà ts^{c}oā* [1], or »marriage with observation of filial duty", that is to say, a marriage with such abstinence from music and gaudery as is required by the rules of mourning, imposed by the laws of hiao. No voice is raised by the people against this violation of the ancient orthodox rescripts. On the contrary, such marriages are openly defended as being in perfect harmony with the maxim of Mencius, re-echoed by the whole nation, that it is a heavy sin against hiao to have no sons, as this would doom father, mother, and the whole ancestry in the Nether-world to a pitiable existence without descendants and subjects enough to serve them properly (comp. page 612). Is it not clear — such is the reasoning — that this doctrine imposes on every one the duty of procreating children not only in the greatest possible numbers, but also as early as possible? Consequently, is it not sinful in a son to defer his marriage? Moreover, it cannot be otherwise than gratifying to the defunct to be enriched without delay with a daughter-in-law, anxious to improve his condition beyond the grave by wailing and howling fervently, and by sacrificing to him during the mourning period with as much zeal and devotion as could ever be displayed by a daughter of his own flesh and bones.

Provided such marriages be solemnized privately, the magistrates generally shut their eyes to these flagrant transgressions of the Code. It is, however, unanimously asserted by the Chinese, that those same grandees would not themselves venture to take a wife during mourning, and that graduates, men of letters, dare not do so either, for fear of the matter being betrayed to the higher authorities by enemies and jealous rivals, which would entail dismissal from office, degradation, and even corporal chastisements. It being, indeed, the highest calling of official dignitaries to teach the people by their own exemplary life the duty of cultivating good

[1] 順孝娶.

customs by conforming strictly to the orthodox principles of ancient society, the supreme Government can scarcely treat them with lenity, when their conduct tends to teach the people just the contrary.

6. It is forbidden to separate one's self from the Clan and divide the Patrimony while in Mourning.

Among the articles relating to mourning, which the Code of Laws contains, there is one which claims our attention in a double measure. It reads:

»If grandsons or sons, of whom a paternal grandparent or parent is » still alive, separate themselves from their home to settle elsewhere, » or detach parts of the family possessions, they shall be punished » with one hundred blows with the long stick. For the infliction » of this punishment it is, however, required that the complaint » be lodged by a paternal grandparent or parent.

»And if brothers, while in mourning for one of their parents, » separate themselves from the home to fix their domicile in another » locality, or detach parts of the patrimony, eighty blows with the » long stick shall be inflicted upon them. It is, however, required » that a complaint be first lodged by a superior or senior from » among the relations who are to be mourned for during one year » or longer. Should such separation from the family or division of » the patrimony have taken place in obedience to the testamentary » dispositions (of a paternal grandparent or parent), it does not fall » under this law"[1].

A bye-law to this adds: »During the life of their paternal grand- » parents or parents, no sons or grandsons shall be allowed to » divide the family possessions or to dwell apart. But they may split » up their possessions if their parents approve thereof, or order them » to do so"[2].

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[1] 凡祖父母父母在、子孫別立戶籍、分異財產者、杖一百。須祖父母父母親告乃坐.

若居父母喪、而兄弟別立戶籍、分異財產者、杖八十。須期親以上尊長親告乃坐。或奉遺命、不在此律. Chapter 8, § 別籍異財.

[2] 祖父母父母在者、子孫不許分財異居。其父母許令分析者聽. *Loc. cit.*

After all that has been stated in this chapter on the subject of the chief principles of family life and mourning in China, we can easily account for the presence of these curious articles in the great Code of Laws of the Empire. The patriarchal power almost unlimited, which institutions ancient and modern place in the hands of the *paterfamilias* and the *materfamilias* and, by extension, in those of the parents of the former, naturally reduces sons and grandsons to the position of absolute slaves of their will. As such they cannot be permitted to leave the ancestral home unless these »highest persons in authority" grant them their full permission, their bodies being the undisputed property of the persons from whom they have received them.

There exists, moreover, another important reason why the Government of the Empire should by its laws back the chieftains of the family in imposing their will in this direction. Has it not been from times of yore one of its chief principles to fix every individual firmly in his clan, that he may live under the constant pressure of his duties towards all its members? And does not Government consequently serve its own high policy by checking every arbitrary withdrawal of individuals from the authority of their clan?

Whereas neither sons nor grandsons are masters of their own person so long as either their parents or paternal grandparents are alive, they are just as little so of their own possessions. Properly speaking, they cannot own anything. Whatever a child earns, his parents have the fullest right to dispose of at their pleasure, because the doctrine of hiao demands that he should implicitly submit in all circumstances of life to their will and pleasure. Any attempt to detach a part of the family possessions without the approval of the parents and the grandparents is therefore regarded as a theft from the highest chiefs of the family, the legal owners. As by separating their persons from the clan, so by separating their wealth therefrom childern commit a revolting sin against hiao, which the Law cannot leave unpunished. »So long as one of their paternal grandparents or parents is living, »neither sons nor grandsons can possess any private property; this »is a social standard rule"[1]: with these words commences the official paraphrase inserted in the Code immediately after the above article, the legislator thereby showing that the fundamental principle to which the article owes its origin, is really that which we have stated.

This principle is by no means of modern date. Like nearly all the

[1] 祖父母父母在、子孫不得有私財、禮也.

leading tenets of Chinese social and domestic life, it is borrowed from remote pre-Christian times. The *Li ki* already says (ch. 65, l. 32): »So long as his father or mother is alive, a man does not presume »to be the owner of his own body, nor to consider his wealth to »be his own [1]. And (ch. 2, l. 21) a filial son during the life of his »father or mother does not promise his friend to die for him, »(for he has not then the free disposition of his body), nor »has he wealth of his own" [2]. Further we read in the same work (ch. 39, l. 25): »A son and his wife have no private wealth, nor »animals and utensils of their own. They do not presume to »borrow from, or to give anything to another person. Should anybody »give to the wife something to eat or to drink, or an article of »dress, a piece of cloth or silk, something to wear in her girdle, »a handkerchief, an iris or orchid, she ought, after having re- »ceived it, to offer it to her parents-in-law; and if they accept it, »she shall be just as glad as she was when she received the gift. »If they return it to her, she shall decline it, and if they do not »approve of her doing so, she shall take it as if it were a new »present, and lay it by till they may need it" [3].

The doctrine that sons should not separate themselves from the

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1 父母在、不敢有其身、不敢私其財. Section 坊記.

2 父母存、不許友以死、不有私財. Section 曲禮, I, 2.

3 子婦無私貨、無私畜、無私器。不敢私假、不敢私與。婦或賜之飲食、衣服、布帛、佩、帨、茝蘭、則受而獻諸舅姑、舅姑受之則喜、如新受賜。若反賜之則辭、不得命、如更受賜、藏以待乏. Section 內則, I.

That the doctrine in question is not mere theory, but plays an active part still in the Chinese life of to-day, we had occasion to note in 1888 from the following incident. A Chinaman, whom we had known in Java as a schoolmaster, we met again in Amoy, where he had re-settled with his earnings. One day he called on us and told us that he had resolved to steal away to Java again. On being asked the reason, for we knew he had laid by enough in the colonies to lead an easy life in his ancestral home, the poor fellow confessed that his savings were nearly gone, as his father had eased him of almost all he possessed, and was now trying to squeeze out of him the rest by continually threatening to put in force the punishments of the mandarins against him, if he did not give it up. The old man, he added, was acting chiefly under the pressure of his other sons, who desired no better than to make good cheer with their rich brother's money. The latter started off shortly afterwards, leaving among those who knew him the ill repute of being extremely *put hào* 不孝, »unfilial".

ancestral home and that the family possessions must remain undivided, is likewise as old as the Cheu dynasty. The *I li* formulates it in the following terms: »Father and son are only one body, and so are »husband and wife, and elder and younger brothers. Hence, the »father and his sons form the head and the feet, husband and »wife the two halves united, and the brothers the four limbs. »On this account it is the duty on the part of brothers not to »separate from one another. If one separates from the others, he sets »aside the personal devotion which a son ought to show to (his »father), and a son who does not devote himself exclusively to »his father does not fulfil perfectly the duties of a son. Hence »it is that, though the mansion be divided into eastern, western, »southern and northern buildings, and the members of the family »dwell therein apart from each other, the possessions are held »in common. If one has an overplus, it comes to the benefit of the »tsung, and when others have not enough for their wants, they »receive gifts from the tsung" [1]. We see from this, that the theory in ancient China was that the possessions of the living were the common property of the clan and its ancestors, a tsung being, as our readers know from pages 511 and 562, a clan inclusive of its deceased members.

When this rule that brothers ought not to separate themselves from their clan is strictly observed, the natural result is that no male member in any of the generations descended from the clan ever leaves it. Through all ages such a state of affairs has been hallowed by Chinese politicians as an ideal condition, the which to approach as much as possible was one of the main objects of the chiefs of the nation. We have before us a long series of extracts from the Standard Annals, showing that, ever since the Han dynasty, numerous families who have lived together during many generations without any of their members separating themselves from the common stock, have been deemed worth a place among the

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[1] 父子一體也、夫妻一體也、昆弟一體也。故父子首足也、夫妻牉合也、昆弟四體也。故昆弟之義無分。然而有分者則辟子之私也、子不私其父則不成爲子。故有東宮、有西宮、有南宮、有北宮、異居而同財。有餘則歸之宗、不足則資之宗. Chapter 23, l. 22.

immortals of history. This fact of itself is a sufficient proof of the great importance which has always been attached by the nation to compactness of clan life. In the Books of the T'ang Dynasty alone we find no less than some dozens of such »dutiful families" [1] on record. In numerous cases they earned the highest possible public applause, being awarded by the Son of Heaven himself with honorary titles panegyrizing their meritorious conduct, which titles might be exhibited for ever over the house-door and the gate of their village. Some extracts relating to such occurrences are inserted in Chapter IX, to which we beg to refer our readers.

This long digression will help the reader to understand why the modern Law also forbids people in mourning for their parents or paternal grandparents to separate themselves from their clan, and to divide the property ere such mourning is ended. Death does not sever a man from his family. Though his body be no more, he remains in a spiritual shape the lord and master of his offspring, and therefore continues to be the rightful proprietor of their bodies and wealth. And the Law is bound to protect his ownership, just as it did when he was alive. But its interference terminates at the end of the mourning. To properly understand the reason for this, we should recollect that mourning is the time devoted to the giving up of all property to the deceased parents, and that this renunciation ceases when the mourning period is over. Further we must observe that the Law could never permit a dead man's descendants to desert his altar during the period of mourning, because it must maintain in every respect and by all possible means the sacred h i a o, which requires by the mouth of scholars and sages of all times that every one should in that period in particular devote himself to serving the deceased authors of his days and to observing whatever duties are imposed upon a child for ensuring their happiness in the next life.

It is scarcely necessary now to state that this prohibition to dispose of the inheritance ere the time of mourning has expired is most closely connected with the rule, which anciently obtained for rulers, not to take possession of the throne before the mourning for their father was ended (see page 570). Still another custom is linked with it, namely that of leaving everything which had belonged to the parents, untouched after their death. The existence of this custom in ancient China is revealed to us by the *Li ki*

[1] 義門.

(chapter 43, l. 29): »When his father is no more, a son cannot »bear to read his books, for, the wet touch of his hand is »still upon them. And when a mother has died, her son cannot »bear to drink from her cup or vessel, as the wet breath of »her mouth still sticks to it"[1]. That in still later ages children refrained from occupying the dwelling of their defunct parents, and especially avoided the use of their private apartments, has been set forth already on pages 487 *seq.*

7. Mourning observed for Rulers.

Of the extracts from Chinese books, which are inserted in this chapter, many have afforded proof that, anciently, mourning had to be worn in the Middle Kingdom also for rulers. It is quite natural that this should be so. In the lowest stage of culture there existed in China no sovereign but the *paterfamilias*, and in stages more advanced, no other rulers than the chiefs or elders of the clans, patriarchs who by extension could become chiefs of districts, each inhabited by several clans descended from one common stock. Such a petty ruler was naturally looked upon by his people as the father of them all, though more especially so by his immediate attendants who assisted him in the discharge of his public duties, they being, as a matter of course, in the first place his own nearest offspring. Under such an effective patriarchal system, the doctrine that nobody could possess wealth of his own as long as his father lived (see pp. 619 and 620) we may be sure was strictly observed. Co-existing with the tenet that a man's property remains his own even after his death, it naturally created the duty of ceding one's raiment also to the common father of the clan or district, *i. e.* wearing mourning for him, which obligation was especially incumbent upon his nearest kindred who assisted him in administering the community.

In this wise, mourning for rulers, to be observed specially by their ministers, probably came into existence in China. It grew into a State institution when the clans became united into sundry petty kingdoms, a process which was fully accomplished in the time of Cheu, about which period the ancient books teach us so many

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[1] 父沒而不能讀父之書、手澤存焉爾。母沒而杯圈不能飲焉、口澤之氣存焉爾. Section 玉藻, III.

matters of interest. The rulers of all those states were then regarded as possessing their territory from one common liege-lord, the sovereign of the realm of Cheu, who himself held the whole Empire as a liege from Heaven, whose sole lawful Vice-regent he was and of whom he styled himself the Son. Those feudal states were again split into numerous smaller fiefs. In each of these larger and smaller territories it was incumbent upon ministers to mourn for the ruler in the same degree in which sons mourned for their father. From the mourning registers of the *I li* we see indeed that every feudal ruler was to observe such mourning for the Son of Heaven, and was himself mourned for in like manner by his ministers (page 506, nos. 2 and 3).

And the *Li ki* (chapter 65, l. 32) says: »Mourning for a father »lasts till in the third year, and that for a ruler the same length »of time" [1]. The *Cheu li* has: »For the Celestial Sovereign (*i. e.* »the Son of Heaven) the dress of the first degree of mourning is »worn, and for his consort that of the second" [2]. This passage shows that the position occupied by an empress or queen with regard to the ministers was just the same as that held in the circle of the family by the *materfamilias* with regard to the children, these having, as is shown on page 513, to mourn for her likewise in the second degree.

The circumstance that a minister had to mourn for his ruler, and a feudal prince for his liege-lord, just as deeply as a child for his father, is another proof that the organisation of the State was to a great extent a copy of that of the family, in other words, that the whole world was considered as constituting one single family (comp. page 509). As the patriarch of a family or clan, in governing its members, was assisted in the first instance by his sons, so the ruler of a state used to raise in the first place his own sons and grandsons to high official dignities and to endow them with fiefs. Thus the duties towards father and sovereign remained naturally assimilated; the h i a o was the same for both, and consequently mourning too. A few passages from the ancient works alluding to this state of matters have been placed before our readers on page 508.

But, considering that mourning is based upon the principle that

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[1] 喪父三年、喪君三年. Section 坊記.

[2] 爲天王斬衰、爲王后齊衰. Chapter 21, l. 21.

a child's wealth is the property of its parents and as such was to be sacrificed to them on their death, the question now is whether also, in ancient China, a minister's wealth was deemed to be the property of his ruler, and whether as such it was ceded, or partly ceded to him on his demise. This point must first be settled, before our theory on the origin of the mourning for rulers can be considered fully proved. We shall show by a few extracts that the answer must be in the affirmative.

In the *Li ki* (ch. 65, l. 32) we read:

» While either its father or mother is alive, a child does not » presume to be the owner of its own body, nor to consider its » wealth its own. This principle shows the people that there exist » for them superiors and inferiors. On the same principle, the Son » of Heaven can nowhere within the four seas be received with » the ceremonies observed towards a guest, and no one may presume » to be his host (as the Son of Heaven is the rightful owner of » everything, wherever he comes). And likewise on the same » grounds, when a ruler resorts to his minister's mansion he goes » up to the hall by the steps on the east (which are the principal), » and proceeds to the main seat in the hall (or principal apartment), » which shows that the people should not dare to consider their » dwelling their own" [1].

So far for the first part of the query, which may be considered settled by this all-convincing extract. That grandees and officers used in fact to make sacrifice of their wealth on their ruler's death is likewise proved by the *Li ki*, which has (ch. 48, ll. 5 and 6): » When a minister sends grave clothes for his ruler, he says: » 'I send these laid-aside garments to the Valuers' [2]. And when he » contributes articles or valuables to his ruler for the funeral of the » former ruler, he says: 'I place these products of my fields in the » hands of your officers'" [3]. The clothes thus offered were the so-

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[1] 父母在、不敢有其身、不敢私其財。示民有上下也。故天子四海之內無客禮、莫敢爲主焉。故君適其臣、升自阼階、卽位于堂、示民不敢有其室也. Section 坊記.

2 A certain class of officials mentioned in the *Cheu li* (chapter 1, l. 25). They were attached to the Manager of the Treasury of Jade, mentioned on pp. 269 and 271.

[3] 臣致禭於君則曰、致廢衣於賈人。臣爲君喪納貨貝於君則曰、納甸於有司. Section 少儀.

called »clothes that follow the deceased", which were, as has been demonstrated on page 341, placed in the grave. It is significant that they were laid-aside garments, that is to say, not made on purpose for this occasion, but taken out of the wardrobe of th very man who had to undo himself of his wealth on behalf of his defunct prince.

Particulars about the mourning which was observed for rulers anciently, are tolerably abundant in the Three Rituals. »A feudal »ruler", says the *Li ki* (ch. 70, l. 54—56), »mourns for the Son »of Heaven till in the third year, and his consort then mourns in »the same way in which a feudal ruler is mourned for by the clan »of his wife or mother; but his Continuator does not wear mourning »for the Son of Heaven. The Continuator of a Great officer wears »the mourning dress of an ordinary officer for the ruler and the »ruler's consort and eldest son" [1]. Another passage of the same Classic (ch. 14, l. 22) reads: »When the Son of Heaven dies, within »three days the Invokers are the first to assume mourning. The »officers and grandees assume it before the fifth day, men and »women within the precincts of the capital before the seventh »day, and everybody in the Empire before three months have »elapsed" [2].

An officer's consort too had to mourn for the sovereign, namely in the second degree (see page 518, no. 20). It may be surmised that each class of officials, in mourning for the ruler, was bound to a peculiar dress; but the details which the books contain on this head are extremely scanty. A few, laid down in the *I li*, have been reproduced on page 525; the same work states further: »The sundry ministers of the high nobles [3] and Great officers wear »for their feudal ruler (besides the ordinary attire of the first »degree) a linen girdle and shoes with strings" [4].

Mourners for their ruler had also to dwell in mourning sheds.

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1 君爲天子三年、夫人如外宗之爲君也、世子不爲天子服。大夫之適子爲君夫人大子如士服. Section 服間.

2 天子崩、三日祝先服。五日官長服、七日國中男女服、三月天下服. Section 檀弓, II, 3.

3 The character 士 in the text is evidently a misprint of 卿.

4 公士大夫之衆臣爲其君布帶繩屨. Chapter 22, l. 54.

»The Intendant of the Palace", thus we read, »at a Great »funeral provides the mourning sheds and the (unplastered) apart- »ments, and points out in which way the near and distant »relatives and the superiors and inferiors shall dwell therein [1]. »And the Intendant of the Archers on such occasions sees that »the high nobles and Great officers fulfil the duties that are in- »cumbent on each of them respectively. He sees that the mourning »sheds, which these notables occupy, are in accordance with their »rank, and reproves and punishes those who are not respectful" [2].

The high importance attached to the mourning for rulers is clearly to be seen from the circumstance that those who wore it had to give it precedence of all other mourning. It is on record in the *Li ki* (ch. 27, l. 11) that Confucius said to Tsengtszĕ: »When a Great officer or an ordinary official wears mourning for his Ruler, he does not presume to wear private mourning" [3]. That this maxim obtained also during the Han dynasty we have had occasion to point out on page 573. The important place held in ancient Chinese society by the mourning for rulers, is furthermore evident from the fact that it was worn by ministers and officers even after they had retired from office, as the mourning list of the *I li* shows (see p. 519 *seq.*, nos. 33 and 39). It seems, however, that this custom was falling into disuse already during the Cheu dynasty, for the *Li ki* (ch. 13, l. 1) relates: »The ruler Muh (of »the state of Lu, who reigned 409—376 B. C.) asked Tszĕ-szĕ »(a disciple of Confucius): 'Was it the custom of antiquity for an »officer to return to his old ruler, in order to mourn for him?'— »'Rulers of antiquity', answered the other, 'appointed men to office »and dismissed them in both cases according to the rules of pro- »priety, and hence the custom existed of returning to an old ruler »to mourn for him. But, at present, rulers appoint men as if they »were going to take them on their knees, and dismiss them as »if they were going to push them into an abyss; is it not there- »fore only virtue on their part if they do not head rebellions?

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[1] 宮正大喪則授廬舍、辨其親疏貴賤之居. *Cheu li*, chapter 4, l. 8.

[2] 射人大喪作卿大夫掌事。比其廬、不敬者苛罰之. *Cheu li*, chapter 30, l. 42.

[3] 大夫士有君喪服於身、不敢私服. Section 曾子問, II.

» How then should there exist a rule for them to return to old » rulers, in order to mourn for them?'" [1].

In addition to the ruler himself, mourning had to be worn for his parents, paternal grandparents, wife, and Continuator. This may be seen from the mourning list of the *I li* (pages 518 *seq.*, nos. 22 and 33), which shows at the same time that the dress of the second degree was prescribed for these princely personages.

As is set forth in a passage quoted from the *Li ki* on page 626 of this work, even the entire people had to assume mourning in ancient China for their defunct sovereign. The existence of rescripts to this effect is indicated also by the register of the *I li* (page 520, no. 34), which at the same time teaches that the mourning in question was of the second degree and ended in the third month. In those times already this form of mourning could boast of respectable antiquity, so at least if trust may be placed in a passage of the *Shu king* reproduced on page 606, according to which the emperor Yao was mourned for by all his subjects till in the third year, as if he were their father and mother, and nobody had any music during that time. Down to this day it is obligatory on the whole nation to abstain from music while in mourning for the emperor, as will be seen anon.

During the Han dynasty, mourning for the ruler was likewise a recognized institution of the State. As has been stated on page 573, Wen, one of the first sovereigns of that House, ordained that thirty-six days of mourning should be observed for him. He thus curtailed the more ancient period of three months considerably. His testamentary dispositions said that »it should not be forbid- » den to take wives or to give daughters in marriage, or to » sacrifice, or to drink spirits and eat meat" [2], which indicates that, up to that date, weddings were forbidden during the mourning for a sovereign. There is, however, as far as we know, nothing to be found in the ancient works which gives us a right to conclude

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[1] 穆公問於子思曰、爲舊君反服、古與。子思曰、古之君子進人以禮、退人以禮、故有舊君反服之禮也。今之君子進人若將加諸膝、退人若將隊諸淵、毋爲戎首不亦善乎。又何反服之禮之有. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 無禁取婦、嫁女、祠祀、飲酒、食肉. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 4, l. 19; also the Historical Records, chapter 10, l. 17.

that such prohibition prevailed in ages prior to the Han dynasty.

While this family ruled the Empire, the observance of mourning for the Son of Heaven was forced upon ministers and grandees with a vigorous hand. The following episode is a clear proof of this. In the sixth year before the Christian era, Kiai Kwang [1] presented a memorial to the Throne, in which he vehemently censured the character and conduct of Wang Ken [2], prince of Khüh-yang [3], a near relative of the then late emperor Ch'ing [4] and, moreover, a high minister. »He has" — thus the document stated — »not harboured any sad or mournful thoughts on »the demise of his late Sovereign. Ere the grave mound was »completed he has publicly and openly taken unto him female »musicians out of the deceased's side-halls. And the Fifth Officials [5] »Yin Yen, Wang Fei-kiün and others have set out spirits and »indulged in the pleasures of singing and dancing, thus banishing »from their memory the great favours which His late Majesty had »bestowed upon them, and turning their backs upon the filial »devotion which ministers owe to their ruler. And Hwang, the »prince of Ch'ing-tu, a son of Wang Ken's elder brother, who »enjoys the good fortune of being an Imperial cognate [6] and whose »step-father holds the dignity of Imperial prince and immediate »Chamberlain to the Throne, this Hwang has troubled his mind »as little as the others about showing gratitude for all the high »favours bestowed upon him, nay he has likewise taken a wife »from among the ladies of the side-halls of the deceased Sovereign. »They are all devoid of the moral qualities which ministers ought »to possess. They have displayed the greatest irreverence and »given proof that they do not move in the correct path'.

»Upon this, the Son of Heaven pronounced the following decision. »'His late Majesty has treated Ken, Hwang and the father of the »latter with the utmost generosity. Yet they have abnegated the »obligations which should flow forth from His favours, and effaced »them from their memory. Considering, however, that Ken has »projected the erection of Our altars of the Gods of Land and »Grain (*i. e.* has helped us to the Throne), We merely banish him

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1 解光. 2 王根. 3 曲陽侯.

4 成帝. 5 A certain class of functionaries.

6 His grandfather was born of the same mother as the consort of the emperor Yuen 元帝, who reigned from 48 to 33 B. C.

» to his principality. And Hwang We do not wish to employ » any longer; he is herewith degraded to the rank of a commoner, » and sent back to the district where he lived before. And all » those who have heretofore been raised to official dignities on the » recommendation of Ken and Hwang's father, are dismissed" [1].

Similar episodes are on record also in the historical books of later dynasties. In those of the House of Tsin we read: » When the » Emperor Ming had died (A. D. 325), Chung Nga was appointed » Censor. It occurred about this time that the minister Mei Tao » employed singing women and dancing girls to perform before him » in private, ere the mourning for the Emperor was yet ended, » which induced Chung Nga to denounce him to the Emperor in » a memorial. 'I have', thus this document ran, 'learned that at » the demise of Fang Hiun (*i. e.* the ancient sovereign Yao) the » musical instruments were stopped and stored away, and that even » the common people were then capable of keeping a three years' » mourning (comp. page 606). Ever since that time matters have » continued in this way through all dynasties, down to this date, » and so, during the months which have now expired of the year » wherein Emperor Ming, the Venerable Ancestor, passed away » and forsook His numberless realms, Your Majesty, our Holy Lord, » himself has worn the cap of plain undyed silk and plain undyed » garments, weeping tears of blood while holding Your court. All » the officers too have felt grief and sorrow and refrained from » displaying on their countenances any signs of joy; but Mei Tao, » devoid of the purity of conduct which is an essential part of the » faith and loyalty that should exist in a high minister, has indulged » in lavishness at home. Voices of singing women have mingled

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[1] 先帝棄天下、根不悲哀思慕。山陵未成、公聘取故掖庭女樂。五官殷嚴王飛君等置酒歌舞、捐忘先帝厚恩、背臣子義。及根兄子成都侯况幸得以外親、繼父爲列侯侍中、不思報厚恩、亦聘取故掖庭貴人以爲妻。皆無人臣禮、大不敬不道。於是天子曰、先帝遇根况父子至厚也。今迺背忘恩義。以根嘗建社稷之策、遣就國。免况、爲庶人、歸故郡。根及况父商所薦舉爲官者皆罷. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 98, l. 13.

» together there, and music of stringed and bamboo instruments has » emerged from thence, so that it could be heard in the street. He » deserves to be dismissed from office, in order that the Supreme » Government may thereby be re-conducted into the proper path" [1]. The orthodox Censor did not, however, effect his purpose.

During the Wei dynasty, magistrates who did not keep the mourning for the emperor in a proper manner were likewise severely dealt with. At least we read: » When Shi Tsung had died (A. D. » 515), but was not yet buried, Ch'en Kiai had, in company with » Chang P'u-hwui, who was governor of Honan, and others, in- » dulged in a revelry at which theatricals were performed. They » were on this account dismissed from their dignities" [2].

If we may believe the Khienlung editors of the *I li*, the Wei dynasty had, prior to the above event, introduced a considerable modification in the duration of the mourning for emperors. They aver that » under the reign of the emperor Wu it was » ordained for the first time that this mourning should be put » off when the burial was completed" [3]. They state also that in the eighth century » the mourning for the emperors Ming and Suh » Tsung of the T'ang dynasty was again abridged, the old number » of thirty-six days being reduced to twenty-seven" [4]. It is easy to see how the then Government came to fix the imperial mourning at this duration. Twenty-seven simply represented the number of

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1 明帝崩、遷[鍾雅]御史中丞。時國喪未葬而尚書梅陶私奏女妓、雅劾奏曰、臣聞放勛之殂八音遏密、雖在凡庶猶能三載。自茲以來歷代所同、肅祖明皇帝崩背萬國當葬來月聖主縞素、泣血臨朝。百僚慘愴動無歡容、陶無大臣忠慕之節、家庭侈靡。聲妓紛葩、絲竹之音流聞衢路。宜加放黜以整王憲. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 70, l. 22.

2 世宗崩未葬、甄楷與河南尹丞張普惠等飲戲。免官. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 68, l. 10.

3 至魏武始令葬畢便除. Chapter 22, l. 32.

4 至唐明皇肅宗之喪又降三十六日爲二十七日. Chapter 22, l. 33.

months which that mourning lasted at the outset, the three years' mourning ending, as our readers know from page 500, in the twenty-seventh month.

It is quite natural that the present dynasty, which never belies its principle that good government chiefly consists in imitating as closely as possible the institutions of antiquity, has assigned to the mourning for the Emperor an important place amongst its own institutions. Minute regulations have been drawn up by it on this subject and laid down in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*; of the greater part of these we here present a translation to the reader.

» At the demise of the Emperor, the princes and ministers » forthwith remove the ornaments from their caps, and all the » inmates of the inner apartments of the Palace, from the Empress » Dowager, the new Empress and the deceased's concubines of all » ranks down to the lowest, all do the same with regard to their » head-gear [1]. And when the dressing and coffining have taken place" — in presence of the Imperial heir who has properly wailed at it and stamped his feet at fixed times — » this heir and the » other princes with their sons, and all the officials and servants » connected with the Imperial household clip their cues and » assume complete mourning dress, the same being done by the » Empress Dowager, the Empress, the defunct's concubines of all » ranks down to the lowest, his daughters, the consorts of the princes » and of their sons, and all the ladies connected with the Imperial » household. Mourning garments of white linen are provided to » this end for the princes of the rank of Wang or Kung, » and for the several officers, as also for the Imperial clansmen » descended from the recognized founder of the dynasty, and for » those who trace their descent from its early ancestors [2]; and » further for the princesses, for the wives of the Imperial princes » and those below them to the third degree, for the wives of » the members of the Department of the Body guard, and those » higher in rank [3].

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[1] 初崩、王大臣去冠飾、大內自皇太后、皇后、皇貴妃、貴妃、妃、嬪以下咸去首飾. Chapter 47, l. 1.

[2] So-called Gioro.

[3] 大殮畢、嗣皇帝截髮辮成服、皇子、皇孫、及內務府所屬官人均截髮辮、隨成服、皇太后、皇后、皇貴妃、貴妃、妃、嬪以下、公主、皇子皇孫

»The Emperor wears mourning till in the third year. He resides » in a side-apartment, and wears for a hundred days (a cap of) » plain undyed silk and plain undyed mourning garments. He » signs His decrees and dispositions with blue ink. When the hun- » dred days have elapsed, He is requested to bestow care on His » hair again and to change His mourning for another plain dress, » but whenever He appears before the sacrificial altar (of the soul » of the defunct), He re-assumes the old mourning. The plain dress » is put off by Him for good in the twenty-seventh month [1].

» The Empress Dowager too puts off deep mourning at the end » of a hundred days, and then wears a plain dress till in the » twenty-seventh month. The Empress during the first hundred days » wears the same mourning as her Consort, then changing it for » another plain dress, but She re-assumes the former mourning » whenever She appears before the altar of the manes of the » defunct. The plain dress She lays off in the twenty-seventh month. » The concubines of the four highest ranks lay off their mourning » after twenty-seven days, and so do the Imperial sons and grand- » sons, who abide, moreover, in another apartment of the Palace » than that in which they usually reside. The Imperial princesses, » the wives of the princes and those below them in rank, further » the consorts of the members of the Department of the Body » guard with the ladies of higher rank and those connected with » the Imperial household — all likewise wear mourning during » twenty-seven days [2].

福晉、及內務府所屬婦女均翦髮成服。王、公、百官、宗室、覺羅、皆給白布制服、公主、福晉以下三等、侍衞妻以上給布制服如之. Leaf 2.

[1] 皇帝服三年喪。居翼室、百日以內縞素。上諭用藍筆。百日以後請髮易素服、詣几筵前仍喪服。二十七月而除. Leaf 2.

[2] 皇太后百日釋服、二十七月內素服。皇后百日以內服縞素、百日後素服、詣几筵前仍喪服。二十七月而除。皇貴妃、貴妃、妃、嬪、二十七日除服、皇子皇孫居宮中別室、服二十七日而除。公主、福晉以下、侍衞妻以上、及內務府所屬婦女、服同. Leaves 2 and 3.

» The princes and ministers who have to direct the funeral cere-
» monies, the guards of the hall where the coffin is stored away,
» and all those who are in office there, lay off their mourning at
» the end of a hundred days [1].

» As for the princes of the Imperial family invested with the rank
» of Wang or Kung, they have to retire into a chamber of ab-
» stinence, each in his private mansion. The officials attached to
» the Boards and the Supreme Courts have to keep their abode in
» their official buildings, and so have the officers of the eight
» Manchu Banners and of the unemployed or unpaid bannermen.
» They lay off mourning after twenty-seven days, do not have their
» heads shaved for a hundred days, and wear plain garments till
» in the twenty-seventh month. During twenty-seven days they
» stamp their memorials to the Throne and official despatches with
» blue ink [2].

» Such of the Imperial clansmen as belong to collateral branches
» which are the issue of ancestors of a recent period may not
» solemnize any marriage in their family during twenty-seven months.
» This prohibition is in force during one year only for clansmen of
» branches sprung from remote ancestors, and for such Wang,
» Kung and officers as reside in the Metropolis [3].

» Festive meetings are forbidden to all the dignitaries mentioned
» for twenty-seven months, and singing and music must cease for
» the whole of this time" [4].

The duty of mourning for the Sovereign also extends to the whole people. The citizens of the Metropolis have to put on mourning as soon as the death has been publicly promulgated at the Palace, which takes place in the following wise, mostly on the day succeeding that on which the defunct has been coffined and mourning assumed

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[1] 治喪儀王大臣、及殯宮守衛執事人等、百日除服. Leaf 3.

[2] 王公居各私第齋室。部院官居各公署、八旗及閒散官居各旗署。服二十七日而除、皆百日不薙髮、服素二十七月。奏疏文移用藍印二十七日. Leaf 3.

[3] 近支宗室止昏嫁二十七月。遠支宗室及在京王公百官止昏嫁期年.

[4] 止燕會、遏音樂均二十七月. Leaf 3.

by the Court. The announcement having been committed to paper by the Nei koh [1] or »Inner Cabinet", the Grand Secretaries [2] of this Imperial Chancery, accompanied by other officials attached thereto, take it in solemn procession into the hall where the soul-tablet of the defunct is set up, and there hand it over to the heir to the Throne, who deposes it upon a yellow table set out on the spot. All thereupon leave the hall, after having knelt down and bowed their foreheads three times to the ground, and remain waiting outside the gate of this part of the Palace. Now the Secretaries alone re-enter the hall, make a prostration before the table, knock their heads against the floor three times, and carry the announcement off, passing by the kneeling Emperor, who subsequently leaves the hall and retires into his mourning apartment.

Outside the Khien ts'ing gate [3], which forms the southern entrance to the court-yard extending before a hall of the same name, the Secretaries hand the document to the Presidents of the Board of Rites, who receive it kneeling, after having knocked their heads three times against the ground. A sacrificial officer attached to the same Board thereupon carries it to the T'ien ngan gate [4], the lofty, yellow-tiled roof of which rises in the middle of the long wall stretching from east to west before the series of parallel buildings which constitute the inner Palace. Having ascended the pavilion which towers above this gate, he solemnly reads the announcement to an assembly of Wang, Kung, and officers, who, at the head of the warriors and citizens, lie prostrate in mourning attire on the other side of a bridge of marble-like dolomite stone, built over The Golden Water [5], a brook that flows past the outer façade of the said gate. The recital finished, the whole assembly burst out in a loud wailing and throw themselves on their knees three times in succession, at each prostration bowing their heads three times to the ground.

At the Board of Rites printed copies are now made of the document, for distribution throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. The first to receive a copy is the Prefect of the Shun-t'ien department [6], of which Peking is the capital. Dressed in mourning, this magistrate, lying in a prostrate attitude with a retinue of officers

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1 內閣. 2 大學士.
3 乾清門. 4 天安門.
5 金水. 6 順天府.

and retainers, receives it at his Yamen in the Metropolis, and has it read aloud to an assembly of officials, literary graduates and notables. At each provincial capital, the Governor General and the Governor receive it in like manner outside the city-walls, where they resort in state with a long train of civil and military authorities, the gentry, notables and elders, all dressed in plain garments. The reading takes place at their respective Yamen, immediately after the procession has entered. Finally, a like solemn reception is prepared for the document at the capital of each department and district, and also at such other towns as are the seats of high officers charged with the administration of any subdivision of the Empire [1].

In this manner the news of death finds its way to every part of the Imperial territory. Wherever it is officially proclaimed, the authorities »are all bound to change their dress for mourning »attire, and to make ceremonious prostrations with their faces to »the north" in honour of the deceased Son of Heaven. »Until the »third day they must perform a howling in the morning and »evening. They must wear mourning attire for seven and twenty »days; their heads must remain unshaven and marriages be post»poned in their families till the hundredth day, and they must »not have any music for a year. And the soldiers and the people, »both in the Metropolis and the provinces, have for twenty-seven »days to remove the ornaments from their caps, and the women »from their heads, and both sexes have to wear plain garments until »the end of this period; moreover, all have to discontinue shaving »and music for a hundred days. In the Metropolis, marriages »are interdicted to soldiers and citizens for a hundred days, and »in the provinces for a month" [2].

These regulations are not at all irksome to the people. Everybody wears his ordinary clothes, as if nothing had happened, for the term »plain garments" admits of sundry explanations. Ornaments on caps or hats are easily dispensed with, on account of the simple

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1 See the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, chapter 47, ll. 5 and 6.

2 均易喪服、北面行禮。朝夕哭臨三日。喪服二十七日、不薙髮止昏嫁百日、遏音樂期年。京師暨直省軍民男去冠飾、女去首飾、素服二十七日、不薙髮遏音樂均百日。京師軍民止昏嫁百日、直省軍民止昏嫁一月. *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, chapter 47, ll. 5 and 6.

fact that scarcely any one wears them; the small bunch of braided red cords on the top of the skull-cap is simply replaced by another of a black or dark colour, and no red tassels are worn on the ceremonial caps described on page 50 and depicted in Plate II. Weddings can be deferred without very much inconvenience, and what does it matter about shaving, when everybody may have his hair combed and cleansed as often as he likes? This work too appertaining to the office of the barbers' guilds, their members are not altogether doomed to idleness and starvation, though some of them perhaps have a hard time of it. The only real sufferers are the play-actors. As there are no dramatic performances in China without music, these men have to give up their business for the time being; but their losses are compensated to a certain extent by an increase of work and income when the mourning period is past, as the people are then eager to enjoy themselves in a double measure, after so long an abstention from the most beloved of their amusements.

That the people are reminded of their duty to assume mourning for the Son of Heaven by means of notifications posted up all around by the authorities, need scarcely be said.

National mourning must also be observed for an Empress Dowager. In principle this mourning is similar to that prescribed for an Emperor, saving that in the Metropolis the Wang, Kung and other grandees are not required to retire into their mansions or offices and may put off their plain garments already at the end of a hundred days; moreover, all the officers of the fourth rank and lower, who reside there, have to postpone their marriages for only a hundred days, and to keep away from festive meetings and music for one year only [1]. The national mourning for an Empress, not a widow, is somewhat slighter still. Wherever in her case the official tidings of the demise have been promulgated in the Metropolis and the provinces, which takes place in the same way as at the death of an Emperor or an Empress Dowager, » the civil and military » authorities must remove the ornaments from their caps and put » on mourning clothes; they must congregate in their mansions to » howl for three days, and after twenty-seven days put off their » mourning; they may not have themselves shaved for a hundred days. » Both among the soldiers and the people, men and women must » remove the ornaments from their hats and heads, and wear a plain » mourning dress for seven days. And everybody, from the officials

1 See the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, chapter 48, ll. 1 and 2.

» of the seven degrees down to the common people, must discon-
» tinue music and consummate no marriage so long as he wears
» the mourning dress" [1].

8. Mourning for Teachers.

Besides one's own kinsfolk and the ruler with his nearest relations, still a third category of persons had to be mourned for in ancient China, namely teachers. This fact itself suggests that custom had invested these men with great authority over their pupils, and that the latter had to show them a submissive devotion adequately proportionate. That this authority on one side, and this submissive devotion on the other were very great in pre-Christian times, is tolerably certain, for the *Li ki* places teachers unreservedly on a par with parents and rulers. We read in this work (ch. 9, l. 4): »In serving
» their parents, children should conceal (their faults), and not blame
» them openly therefor. They ought to keep continuously at their
» side to nourish them, without being tied on this head to definite
» rules; they should serve them submissively and laboriously till their
» death, and then observe a strict mourning for them till in the
» third year. — In serving their ruler, ministers should blame him
» openly for his faults and make no concealment of them. They should
» keep at his side to nourish him, though according to definite
» rules; they must serve him laboriously and with submission till his
» death, and then wear mourning for him till in the third year. —
» And in serving his teacher, a disciple should not blame him openly
» for his faults, but should make no concealment of them. He must
» keep at his side to nourish him, without being tied to definite rules,
» serve him submissively and laboriously till his death, and then
» observe for him a mourning of the heart till in the third year" [2].

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[1] 文武官去冠飾、制服、集公所哭臨三日、二十七日釋服、百日不薙髮。軍民男去冠飾、女去首飾、素服七日。自品官達於民庶遏音樂止昏嫁各如其制服之日. *Op. cit.*, chapter 48, l. 11.

[2] 事親有隱而無犯。左右就養無方、服勤至死、致喪三年。事君有犯而無隱。左右就養有方、服勤至死、方喪三年。事師無犯無隱。左右就養無方、服勤至死、心喪三年. Section 檀弓, I, 1,

The fact, revealed by this rescript, that mourning for a teacher used to be observed only in mind and was not marked by a special dress, is corroborated by the following passage from the same Classic (chapter 10, ll. 29 and 35): »On the death of Confucius, his »disciples stood in doubt as to the sort of mourning they should »wear; whereupon Tszĕ-kung said: 'I respectfully propose that we »shall mourn for our Master as we mourn for a father, but without »wearing a mourning dress'.... Accordingly all the disciples merely »wore a headband, when out-of-doors" [1].

During the Han dynasty, the duty of wearing mourning for a teacher was evidently regarded by the nation as a very sacred one. Such a conclusion necessarily follows from the circumstance that there are cases on record of mandarins who went so far as to resign their office on the death of the master who had taught them. So we read that Yen Tuh [2], who lived in the second century, »resigned his office because of the death of his teacher, and hurried to the mourning rites" [3], and that Khung Yuh [4], one of his contemporaries, »having been invested with the governorship »of Loh-yang (the then metropolis of the Empire), resigned his »office because of the death of his teacher, and thereupon breathed »his last in his paternal domicile" [5]. Also concerning the statesman Liu Yen [6], who died in A. D. 194, it is on record that »after he »had been appointed a Chamberlain to the Imperial family, he »resigned this office on account of the death of his teacher" [7]. It seems, however, that such an exaggerated form of mourning had fallen into disuse already at the end of the Han dynasty, or very soon after, for we have not come across any instances such as the above in the native historical records of later ages.

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[1] 孔子之喪門人疑所服、子貢曰、請喪夫子若喪父而無服...孔子之喪二三子皆經而出. The same section, I, 2.

[2] 延篤.

[3] 以師喪棄官、奔赴. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 94, l. 4.

[4] 孔昱.

[5] 補洛陽令、以師喪棄官、卒于家. The same work, chapter 97, l. 24.

[6] 劉焉.

[7] 以宗室拜中郎、後以師喪去官. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Shuh, chapter 1, l. 1.

The Chinese of to-day, in faithful obedience to the doctrines of antiquity, continue to recognize teachers as persons of high importance in social life. Schoolmasters are very influential everywhere, chiefly in consequence of the fact that in most parts of the Empire, with the exception of the mandarinate they alone understand the art of reading sufficiently well to obtain some knowledge of ancient books and to inculcate the lessons and rescripts thereof on the rising generation. In Amoy this saying is continuously on the lips of the educated classes, as a standard proverb: »This world consists of the Ruler, parents and teachers", *tᶜien-hā kun chᶜin su* [1], which is as much as to say that these three, and these three alone, are the chief upholders of social order, the teacher being the man who by his lessons maintains the subjection, respect and devotion which are due to ruler and parents; in other words, he is the grand herald of the indispensable h i a o, which virtue alone can cement the nation into one single body, and without which society would inevitably go to ruin. No wonder then that pupils and schoolboys in Amoy should observe mourning for such important personages. In obedience to the *Li ki*, it is a mourning in their hearts, a mourning which, in imitation of the disciples of the great national Sage, they only display outwardly by signs on their heads. They change the red bunch on the top of their skull-caps for a blue or black one, and have not their heads shaved for a hundred days; but this is all they do. Nobody, however, mourns for a teacher who taught him formerly; but there may be exceptions to this rule.

9. Contact with Mourning is hurtful to Men and Gods.

Numerous passages in the ancient Chinese books indicate that, in pre-Christian times, it was a prevailing conception in the Empire of the Midst that people dressed in mourning ought to avoid contact with others. It is difficult to attribute this to anything but a fear that the misfortune by which the mourner had been struck, and the influences of death still sticking to his person and dwelling, might pass over to others like a contagion, and thus entail new disasters or new cases of illness and decease.

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[1] 天下君親師.

We cannot otherwise account for the following passage in the *Cheu li*: »In mourning dress or with funereal implements no one is permitted to enter the Palace" [1]. A similar rescript occurs in the *Li ki* (chapter 6, l. 21), but with more particulars of detail: »No one is allowed to enter the Ruler's gate either with a »tortoise shell or divining stalks, or with a stool or staff (as this »would be assuming the forbidden airs of an old man or a person »in authority), or with mats and awnings (such things being used »for funeral cars), or having his upper and lower garments both »of plain (mourning) material, or in a single robe of fine or »coarse hemp. Nor should one enter it in (mourning) sandals of »straw, or with the skirts of the garment tucked in at the waist »(which is a token of deep mourning [2]), or with a mourning cap »on. Nor, unless announcement thereof has been previously made »(and permission granted), can any one bring in inscribed boards »(that is to say, lists of articles presented for a funeral), mourn- »ing coats either of the first or second degree, nor any funereal »implements" [3].

Elsewhere still in the *Li ki* we read (chapter 12, l. 5): »Ki Wu- »tszĕ (the grandee mentioned on page 262) was lying ill in his »room, when Kiao Ku entered it to see him, without putting off »the mourning with even edges which he was wearing. 'This line »of conduct followed by me', said the visitor, 'is the right one, »although it has almost fallen into disuse. It is only at the gate »of his Ruler that an officer takes off his mourning with even »edges" [4]. These words show that in Confucius' time it had become quite a rule for people in mourning also to avoid entering other mansions than those of the Chief of the State.

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1 喪服凶器不入宮. Chapter 7, l. 18.

2 We read in the seventieth chapter of the *Li ki* (l. 29): »Immediately »after his parent's death, a child tucks up the skirts of his dress and inserts them »in his girdle" 親始死扱上衽 (section 問喪). Doubtless this act, like baring the head and the upper part of the body, was intended to represent an undressing, the lower limbs being thereby uncovered.

3 龜、筴、几、杖、席、蓋、重素、衫絺綌、不入公門。苞屨、扱衽、厭冠、不入公門。書方、衰、凶器、不以告、不入公門. Section 曲禮, II, 1.

4 季武子寢疾、蟜固不說齊衰而入見。曰、斯道也、將亡矣。士唯公門說齊衰. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

There is evidence on record in the Standard Histories that the ancient rule, which prohibited any one's entering a ruler's palace in mourning attire, obtained in ensuing ages. We read for instance, that during the reign of Wen Tsung [1] of the T'ang dynasty (827—836) »the emperor ordered Li Hiun to put on garments of a glossy »material, because it was difficult to permit him to enter the »inner Palace in the coarse dress with jagged edges, which »he was wearing" [2]. And in the biography of a certain scholar and statesman Ts'ai T'ing [3], who lived in the eleventh century, it is recorded that »the emperor Jen Tsung, wishing to be informed »about the Kitan Tatars, sent for him and consulted him in a »private apartment. At that time, this grandee was in mourning »for his father, and hence he was allowed to enter the Palace in »an everyday dress and with an ordinary hat on" [4]. To this day matters have remained unaltered in this respect, it being prescribed in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* that »none of those who are in the three years' mourning shall enter the gate of the Ruler" [5], by which term is understood not only the Imperial Palace, but also any public building, fortress or other important structure belonging to Government.

The conviction that contact with people in mourning can entail evil consequences has equally imbued the mind of the Chinese of all classes. The evil is deemed to keep pace with the depth of the mourning; hence sack-cloth garments are feared most of all. Their influence is even supposed to be of a killing nature. In Amoy, nobody would be so hard-hearted as to enter the house of another with such garments on. Such a deed would call for vengeance. For the same reason, sack-cloth garments are never kept at home ready made (see page 14).

To a certain extent the same apprehension is manifested at Amoy in respect of the *sàm pō̤ sa*^{m} (see page 592). In this garment nobody would venture to pass the threshold of a house where the

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[1] 文宗.

[2] 以(李)訓綴粗難入禁中、帝令訓戎服. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 169, l. 1.

[3] 蔡挺.

[4] 仁宗欲知契丹事、召、對便殿。挺時有父喪、聽以衫帽入. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 328, l. 14.

[5] 凡喪三年者不入公門. Chapter 52, l. 6.

inmates were celebrating a marriage, a birthday, or any other great festivity, it being of the utmost importance at such times to keep the parties rejoicing free from all inauspicious influences, lest these should destroy for good their future happiness. His near relatives or intimate friends do not fear so great danger from a mourner as other people do, and they make little objection to his entering their houses. Still many a wise old man or prudent matron, who takes the domestic felicity seriously to heart, will throw some salt and uncooked rice, properly mixed together, after such a visitor, to expel in this wise the evil influences which he has introduced. But this must always be done after he has left, for fear of an outburst of fury on his part, as the proceeding is considered very insulting to the person who is made the object of it.

Even persons whose first year of mourning has elapsed and by whom the *sàm pó̲ sa*^{m} is virtually no longer worn (see p. 595) are in general very unwillingly received in their houses by most people. This has given rise to the use of special visiting cards, from which can be seen at a glance whether the person whose name they bear is in mourning or not, and which enable people to decide whether they shall decline his call. Under ordinary circumstances, visiting cards are oblong sheets of red paper, inscribed with the name. Mourners of the first degree use no cards for a year, then yellow ones during the second year, pasted upon an extra piece of red paper of a somewhat larger size, so that they look as if framed in red. This yellow colour represents the natural tint of unbleached bamboo paper, and therefore betokens the same abstaining from the use of dye which characterizes also the mourning dress (see page 601). And when the second year has elapsed, red paper alone is used, now bearing, besides the name, the character 制, which signifies »rules", but points in this case to the rules of mourning, the observance of which is still incumbent on the owner of the cards. Cards such as the latter are used also by mourners of the second degree, till the end of their mourning.

As a consequence of the general fear of the pernicious influence of mourning clothes, a married woman is not allowed by custom to wear mourning in her husband's home for her own father or mother, nor for any other near relative belonging to her father's clan. She is, however, not forbidden to put on her mourning at home when about to resort to the house of death, because this is like carrying mourning *out of* the house, which constitutes no danger;

but it would be quite another thing if she were to return in her mourning clothes, and thus as it were bring mourning *into* the house. Under no pretext whatever would this be allowed, and she is always obliged to put off her mourning in the mortuary house before returning to her husband's home.

As a proof how firmly the fear of contact in cases of death sways the minds of the nation, we may instance the fact that even an ordinary messenger who delivers tidings of death strictly abstains from passing the threshold of the houses at which he knocks, unless urgently requested by the inmates to walk in. Those who do not refrain from calling him in are the happy few who enjoy so much good fortune in this life, that they feel perfectly persuaded the stronghold of their happiness can gloriously repel any attack made upon it by the disastrous influences of death.

If mourning be offensive to man, must it not then be more so to the gods? And must it not on this account be kept at a distance from them as well? No Chinaman has ever hesitated to answer these questions in the affirmative.

Already in ancient China this conception prevailed, even with regard to Heaven and Earth, the two highest divinities of the Pantheon. These were solemnly sacrificed to yearly for the welfare of the country, on fixed days, by every Son of Heaven in the suburbs of his capital, and mourning dress was banished to a distance from the spot on such occasions by severe laws. How, indeed, could divinities be propitiated, if they were outraged and irritated at the same time on their own altars by the presence of unpropitious mourning?

» At the sacrifices in the suburbs", says the *Li ki* (ch. 60, l. 27), » those who have sustained a loss by death do not presume to » wail, nor do they who wear inauspicious mourning garments ven- » ture to enter the gates of the capital then. This constitutes the » highest degree of reverence [1]. And (ch. 37, l. 11) during the day » of the sacrifice, those who have been visited with a case of death » do not howl, neither do they venture to wear the inauspicious » mourning dress" [2]. Howling too was accordingly deemed to work

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[1] 郊之祭也喪者不敢哭、凶服者不敢入國門、敬之至也. Section 祭義, I.

[2] 祭之日喪者不哭、不敢凶服. Section 郊特牲, II.

mischief. But this conception has been discussed already in this work [1].

Still in our days it is an official rescript that »all those who »are in the three years' mourning shall not take part in any »proceeding which has for its object the promotion of happi»ness" [2]. Among such proceedings are understood in the first place numerous sacrifices which are presented annually by the Emperor and his mandarins in the Metropolis and in the provinces to the several divinities of the State, with a view to promoting thereby the welfare of the Empire and its several subdivisions. Where the authorities up to the highest set the example, the people naturally follow, and keep those who are in mourning away from their gods as far as possible. They carry this so far as not even to allow mourners to contribute with the other inhabitants of their ward or village towards the celebration of festivals which are intended for the propitiation of the local tutelary divinities. No names of such persons may appear in the subscription lists circulated for this purpose, as it cannot be doubted that their names, not less than their money, would greatly neutralize the good effects the feast is intended to produce in the shape of blessings from the gods. For the same reason contributions and subscriptions from mourners are refused when money is being collected for the construction or restoration of a temple.

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1 Pages 261 *seq.*

2 凡喪三年者不與吉事. *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li*, chapter 52, l. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

FASTING FOR THE DEAD.

Among the religious observances which play a part in human life, none perhaps so generally obtains as fasting, among peoples in all stages of culture. Nor is this to be looked for in vain in the religious system of the Chinese. It plays a part among them chiefly as a rite connected with the worship of the dead, in which respect it now falls under our attention.

If our premises are correct that the religion of the Chinese people commenced with the worship of the dead, it is highly probable that the most ancient and, perhaps, the original form of all fasting was fasting on behalf of the dead. As a matter of fact, in the oldest relics of the native literature which afford data on religious subjects, we find it so intimately, not to say inseparably coupled with mourning, that it would seem as if a proper observance thereof could not exist without mourning; and if we take into consideration that the origin of mourning is doubtlessly rooted in the very dawn of Chinese life and religion, as the foregoing chapter sufficiently proves, the natural conclusion is, that the origin of fasting must likewise be traced back to the same stage. Nothing is found by us in the ancient books which refutes this conclusion.

At the outset of the last chapter (page 475) we have stated that mourning and fasting are to be considered as twin customs born of the same mother, viz. of the practice of sacrificing everything to the deceased, so that the living kept only the poorest clothes for themselves to wear, and bad and insufficient food to eat. In ancient historical China, sacrificing food to the dead under different forms was, indeed, widely prevalent. They put food into a corpse's mouth after the last breath was drawn; they placed some at its side while it was lying on the death-bed or concealed in the principal apartment of the house under a pile of wood and clay; they also stored up large quantities of victuals in the grave [1]. And though in those

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1 Pages 357 *et sqq.*, 363 *et sqq.*, 382 *et sqq.*

early historical times it was no longer customary for children to give the dead all, or nearly all the food they possessed, yet fasting was not thereby divested of its reality, since it had then assumed the shape of a time-honoured religious rite, the observance of which was imperiously demanded by the hiao, a virtue which, as our readers know, claimed just as much sacrificial devotion for defunct as for living parents.

We must now try to expound by means of extracts from native books the place which fasting has occupied in the religious life of ancient and modern China. As the sacrificing of food to the dead in various ways anciently commenced immediately after life was extinct, fasting, being a natural result of such sacrifices, began at the same moment. We read indeed in the *Li ki* (ch. 70, l. 29): » Immediately after the death of their father or mother, the child- » ren tie their hair with a head-scarf and fasten it with a pin; » they then go barefoot, have the skirts of their coat tucked up and » inserted in their girdle [1], and howl, their hands folded on their » breast. Their grief and distress, their painful and bitter thoughts » injure their kidneys, dry up their liver, and scorch their lungs. » Water or moist food does not enter their mouths, and for three » days no fire is kindled (to cook food); hence the neighbours pre- » pare rice gruel to feed them and to quench their thirst. Internal » grief and distress produce a change in their outward countenance; » because pain and affliction dwell in their hearts their mouths » do not relish any savoury food, nor do their bodies find rest » upon anything which is of good quality" [2].

Let it be noted by the way that the custom, revealed by this extract, of having no fire in the dwelling for some days after the decease, must in course of time have given rise to the custom, described on page 24, of begging in the street for the ashes that are required for the coffining of the corpse. Already on page 27 we have directed the reader's attention to the origin of this curious custom.

Fervent mourners sometimes kept up their devote self-starvation

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1 Compare page 641, note 2.

2 親始死雞斯、徒跣、扱上衽、交手哭。惻怛之心、痛疾之意傷腎、乾肝、焦肺。水漿不入口、三日不舉火、故鄰里爲之糜粥以飲食之。夫悲哀在中、故形變於外也、痛疾在心、故口不甘味、身不安美也. Section 間喪.

for an exceedingly long time. The *Li ki* (chapter 14, l. 43) states that, »when Yoh Ching, the mother of (Tseng-tszĕ's disciple) Tszĕ-ch'un, »had died, even when five days had elapsed he did not yet eat" [1]. Elsewhere (chapter 10, l. 8) the same Classic relates: »Tseng-tszĕ »said to Tszĕ-szĕ: 'Kih, when I was engaged in the funeral of »my parents, no water or moist food entered my mouth for seven »days'. Upon this the other retorted: 'As to the ceremonies and »rites prescribed by the ancient sovereigns, those who would go »beyond them must stoop down and thus approach the rescripts, »and those who do not reach them should stand on tip-toe, in »order to arrive so far. On this account, a superior man, when »engaged in the mourning for his father or mother does not take »in his mouth any water or moist food for three days only, and »though he uses a staff, he is still able to rise to his feet at the »end of that time'" [2].

From this we see that still as late as in the Confucian age there prevailed among the highest in the nation, to which we are justified in supposing the Master's principal disciple Tszeng-tszĕ belonged, a strong tendency to overexaggerate the fasting for the dead, and that the ethical leaders of the nation deemed themselves constrained to check this by admonitions and moral rescripts. Some of these have found their way into the *Li ki*. »During the time »of mourning no one should be concerned about his abode, but »in extenuating himself should not do so to the endangering of »his life, lest he should leave no issue [3]. — Though the food be »bad during mourning, yet the mourner must satisfy his hunger »with it, for, if from hunger he neglects anything connected »with his mourning, he commits a sin against the rites. On the

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1 樂正子春之母死、五日而不食. Section 檀弓, II, 3.

2 曾子謂子思曰、伋、吾執親之喪也水漿不入於口者七日。子思曰、先王之制禮也、過之者俯而就之、不至焉者跂而及之。故君子之執親之喪也水漿不入於口者三日、杖而后能起. Section 檀弓, I, 2.

3 喪不慮居、毀不危身、爲無後也. Chapter 14, l. 15; or section 檀弓, II, 3. Compare what has been stated on pp. 612 and 617 about its being everybody's duty to have male posterity, with a view to the perpetuation of the ancestral worship.

» other hand, it is just as much against the rites should he forget » his sorrow through satiety. It is a matter of distress for superior » men to think that a mourner should not see or hear distinctly » or should not walk straight, and thus be unconscious of his » sorrow. Hence, if a mourner be ill, he must drink spirits and » eat flesh; if he be fifty years, he ought not to carry his extenua- » tions to a high pitch; at sixty he must not emaciate himself » at all, and at seventy he should not abstain from spirits and » flesh, all to prevent himself from dying .... Confucius spoke thus: » 'If he have sores on his body, he should bathe; if he have a » wound on his head, he should wash it (comp. page 504); if he » be ill, he should drink spirits and eat flesh. Extenuating and » emaciating himself to such a degree that illness ensues, this is » what a superior man does not do. If one die from such emaciaton, » superior men will name him a person who has not fulfilled his » duty as a son" [1].

Elsewhere again (chapter 4, ll. 28—30) the *Li ki* has: »According » to the rules for those who are in mourning, extenuation and emacia- » tion should not depict themselves on their outward countenance, » nor should their seeing and hearing faculties be weakened thereby. » According to the same rules, if the mourner have a wound on » his head he should wash it, and if he have sores on his body » he should bathe; if he be ill, he should drink spirits and eat » meat, returning to his former abstinence when he has recovered, » for not to fulfil the duties of mourning in the best possible » way is to be on the verge of want of affection and filial devo- » tion. At fifty, mourners should no more carry their extenuation » to a high pitch, nor should they, when sixty years old, ema- » ciate themselves at all; at seventy they should merely wear the » shabby coat of hemp, drinking, however, spirits, eating flesh and

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[1] 喪食雖惡必充饑、饑而廢事非禮也。飽而忘哀亦非禮也。視不明、聽不聰、行不正、不知哀、君子病之。故有疾飲酒食肉、五十不致毀、六十不毀、七十飲酒食肉、皆爲疑死。。。孔子曰、身有瘍則浴、首有創則沐、病則飲酒食肉。毀瘠爲病君子弗爲也。毀而死、君子謂之無子. Chapter 55, ll. 33 and 35; or section 雜記, II, 1.

»dwelling inside the house"[1]. »Matters relating to fasting and »mourning", adds another chapter (19, l. 11), »do not extend to »octogenarians"[2].

The staff which the starvelings of mourning were originally obliged to carry, lest their tottering emaciated bodies should fall to the ground, has been sufficiently dilated on in the foregoing chapter (pages 494 and 547). We have also seen there that it has become in later ages a mere badge of mourning, an emblem of the privations to which, anciently, the children devoutly submitted in order to benefit their beloved dead as much as possible. At present it plays absolutely no other part than that of a badge (see p. 590).

Fasting and wearing mourning being really one and the same thing, namely abstaining from even the first requirements of life on behalf of the dead, as a matter of course we find that, like the last-named custom (see pp. 491 *seq.*), fasting became less rigorous in proportion as the relationship to the deceased was more removed. »Those who mourn in the first degree", says the *Li ki* (chapter 71, l. 5), »do not eat for three days; in the second »degree, mourners do not take food during two days; in the third »degree, they abstain from three meals, in the fourth or fifth from »two. Should an ordinary officer take part in the dressing of a »corpse, he abstains from one meal. Hence, at the demise of their »father or mother, the mourners, when the coffin is stored away »in the hall of the dwelling, confine themselves in the morning to »rice gruel made of one handful of rice, and the same quantity in »the evening. Mourners of the second degree take food at long inter»vals and drink water, but must abstain from vegetables and fruit. »In the third degree they take no pickled meat or liquid food, »and in the fourth or fifth degree they drink no must or spirits. »In this manner grief is manifested in drinking and eating"[3].

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[1] 居喪之禮、毀瘠不形、視聽不衰。居喪之禮、頭有創則沐、身有瘍則浴、有疾則飲酒食肉、疾止復初、不勝喪乃比於不慈不孝。五十不致毀、六十不毀、七十惟衰麻在身、飲酒、食肉、處於內. Section 曲禮, I, 4.

[2] 八十齊喪之事弗及也. Section 王制, V.

[3] 斬衰三日不食、齊衰二日不食、大功三不食、小功緦麻再不食。士與斂焉則壹不食。故父母

And, again, just as in wearing mourning dress (see page 499), the austerity in fasting gradually decreased in proportion to the time which had elapsed since the decease. »In the mourning for their father or mother", so the same chapter of the *Li ki* continues, »when the great » sacrifice which follows upon the burial has been presented and the » period of wailing is closed, the mourners eat at long intervals » and drink water, but still abstain from vegetables and fruit. When » one year has elapsed and the Lesser Sacrifice of Felicity has been » offered, they may take vegetables and fruit [1]. And at the end of » the second year, when the Great Sacrifice of Felicity has been » presented to the dead, they eat pickled meat and liquid food, » and one month thereafter, the sacrifice which concludes the » mourning having been offered, they may drink must and spirits. » When they begin to drink spirits, they take must first; and » when they begin to eat meat, they first eat dried meat" [2].

Seeing from the above extracts that meat, must and spirits were forbidden even in the last month of the deepest mourning, when other sorts of food had long been allowed already; seeing moreover, that must and spirits were not permitted to mourners of even the two lowest degrees and that moralists had to give implicit orders to sick and aged mourners not to abstain from such liquors or from flesh — the conclusion is forced upon us that the three articles in question stood quite foremost in the list of foods which mourners were not allowed to touch. This fact coincides with the circumstance that it was just the same three things which in ancient China played the principal part at every sacrifice that was offered to the dead, as may be seen from the account which the *I li* gives of the sacrifices that were connected with the dressing of the dead (see pp. 83 *seq.*), with the coffining (pp. 363 *seq.*), with the ceremonious howling in the morning and evening after the temporary

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之喪既殯食粥、朝一溢米、莫一溢米。齊衰之喪疏食水飲、不食菜果。大功之喪不食醯醬、小功緦麻不飲醴酒。此哀之發於飲食者也. Sect. 閒傳.

1 Comp. pages 503 *seq.*, where what the *I li* says on this head has been quoted.

2 父母之喪既虞卒哭疏食、水飲、不食菜果。期而小祥食菜果。又期而大祥食醯醬、中月而禫、禫而飲醴酒。始飲酒者先飲醴酒、始食肉者先食乾肉.

burial in the hall (p. 118), and with the obsequies (p. 151). Their part as such will moreover be referred to in several chapters in our Second Book, devoted to a systematic treatment of the worship of disembodied souls. Consequently, the correctness of our theory that fasting was in the beginning an abstaining from food and drink in order to supply the dead with all the more for themselves, is hereby fully confirmed. We may also remind our readers that, as stated on pages 198 and 383, it was customary during the Cheu dynasty to send to the tomb whole cart-loads of sacrificial *meat and spirits*, and to inter the same with the dead, and that, though rice was also sent thither, such was explicitly declared by a disciple of Confucius to be in disharmony with time-honoured orthodox custom.

Before finishing our sketch of the important place fasting anciently occupied in China in the Religion of the Dead, we must still mention that the law of custom during the Cheu dynasty went so far as to make fasting incumbent upon those who dressed a corpse or went to condole with people who had sustained a loss by death. »It is a rule", says the *Li ki* (ch. 58, l. 10), »that those »who dress a corpse shall wail when they have finished their work. »An ordinary officer who has a dead body dressed by his retainers, »after the work is done abstains from one meal on its behalf" [1]. »In the course of the day on which one goes to pay a visit of »condolence", says another clause (ch. 12, l. 9), »he drinks no »spirits and eats no meat" [2]. It is worthy of notice also that it was prescribed (ch. 11, l. 1) that »people eating by the side of a mourner might not eat their fill" [3], a precept which, if the *Lun yü* [4] may be believed, was complied with by Confucius himself, who was the embodiment of perfection and excellence. That for the rest moralists declared it was everybody's duty, from the Son of Heaven down to the meanest of the people, to fast for the dead, has been seen from the words of Tseng-tszĕ and Mencius, quoted respectively on pages 475 and 503.

Once firmly rooted in the ancient Chinese nation as an indispensable religious rite, fasting for the dead naturally maintained

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1 斂者既斂必哭。士與其執事則斂、斂焉則爲之壹不食. Section 喪大記, II.

2 行弔之日不飲酒食肉焉. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

3 食於有喪者之側未嘗飽也. Section 檀弓, I, 3.

4 Chapter VII, 9.

itself as a sacred custum during a long series of ages. Many passages might be quoted from the Standard Histories and other high authorities in proof hereof; but we will not waste space and time by quoting more than a few. In the second century of our era, »one Shen T'u-p'an lost his father, when he was a mere lad »of nine years. His sorrow was more intense and his emaciation »greater than the law of morals demanded. Even after he had »put off mourning, neither spirits nor meat entered his mouth for »over ten years, and on each anniversary of the demise he did »not touch food for three days"[1]. Passing over a couple of centuries, we find it recorded of a certain grandee Sié Hung-wei[2] who lived from A. D. 391 to 433: »Being in mourning for his »mother, he resigned his office, and was spoken of in lofty strains »because of the filial devotion which he displayed during the »time of mourning. Even after this had elapsed, he continued to »restrict himself to vegetables and plain food for a time..... And »when his brother died in the service of the government, his »grief and sorrow exceeded what is required by the law of morals, »and even after he had put off his mourning dress he neither took »fish nor flesh"[3]. A contemporary of his, Mu-yung Hi[4], who between the years 401 and 407 ruled the kingdom of Yen[5], situated in the present province of Chihli, »on the death of lady Fu (his »concubine) wore the mourning of the first degree and ate rice »gruel"[6]. In the next century, the grandee P'ei Chi-li[7], governor of western Yü-cheu[8], a part of the present province of Honan, »ate nothing but wheat and rice during the mourning for his mother"[9].

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1 申屠蟠九歲喪父。哀毀過禮。服除不進酒肉十餘年、每忌日輒三日不食. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 83, l. 9.

2 謝弘微.

3 母憂去職、居喪以孝稱。服闋蔬素踰時...兄卒官、哀戚過禮、服雖除猶不噉魚肉. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, chapter 20, l. 3.

4 慕容熙. 5 燕.

6 苻氏死、熙服斬縗食粥. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 124, l. 15.

7 裴之禮. 8 豫州.

9 母憂居喪唯食麥飯. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, chapter 58, l. 15.

When the T'ang dynasty was seated on the throne, fasting for the dead ranked amongst the political institutions of the State. As such it received a place among the statutory rituals laid down in the Codex of the period Khai yuen. »Not until three days have passed", thus we read therein, »do mourners take food again. And when their » father or mother has been buried, the children may take rice gruel, » which in the morning is made of four times as much rice as the » hand can scoop up, and in the evening of the same quantity. » If they cannot eat such gruel, they may cook the rice dry, and » this latter way of preparing it is allowed to all the women" [1]. It is no wonder that a dynasty which adopted fasting for the dead among its written laws, should have in store severe punishments for those who, while in mourning, indulged in banquets and revelries. »In the twelfth year of the period Yuen hwo » (A. D. 817), Yü Ki-yiu, a grandee invested with the title of » Military Intendant of the Emperor's horses, was in mourning for » his father's principal consort, and yet he took part in a joyous » entertainment and nocturnal drinking party in company with Liu » Shi-fuh, a literary graduate of the highest degree. For this he » was divested of his offices and dignities, chastised with forty » blows with the bamboo stick, and banished to Chung-cheu. The » graduate received the same number of blows and was condemned » to be relegated in banishment to Lien-cheu; and Yü T'ih (Yü » Ki-yiu's father) was also deprived of his rank, because he had » shown himself incapable of giving his son a proper education" [2].

New life having thus been infused into it by the official rescripts of the House of T'ang, the mourning-fast was in full vigour when the Sung dynasty occupied the throne. It is recorded that the magnate Chang Ts'i-hien [3], who stood in high favour at Court, when his mother died in A. D. 993 »did not » allow any water or liquid food to pass his lips for seven days

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[1] 三日而後食。父母葬食粥、朝米四合、暮米四合。不能食粥以米爲飯、婦人皆以米爲飯.

[2] 元和十二年駙馬都尉于季友居嫡母喪、與進士劉師服歡宴夜飲。季友削官爵、笞四十、忠州安置。師服笞四十、配流連州、于頔不能訓子削階. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 15, l. 20.

[3] 張齊賢.

» and, when this time had elapsed, restricted himself to one bowl » of gruel a day, abstaining from spirits, meat, vegetables and » fruit till the end of the mourning period" [1]. It was also during the rule of the Sung dynasty that fasting for the dead found a place among the Rituals for Family Life, compiled by Chu Hi. » The sons", this philosopher said, » must abstain from food for » three days. Those who are in mourning for one year or nine » months must give up three meals, and those who have to mourn » for five or three months must abstain from two meals. The kinsmen » and neighbours prepare rice gruel to feed them, and the super- » iors and elders of the family may compel them to eat a little » of it" [2]. The reader will see at a glance that much in this clause is borrowed from the *Li ki* (comp. pp. 648 and 650).

In spite of Chu Hi's rescripts, fasting on behalf of the dead was slipping into abeyance in his time in some out-of-the-way corners of the Empire, for in the *Ling wai tai tah*, which dates from the eleventh century (see page 16), we read that in the far South-west of the province of Kwangtung people openly evaded it by the aid of deep-fetched subterfuges. » When among the people of Khin » a father or mother dies, the children touch no meat or fish, » but they freely consume sea-crabs, large shell-fish, oysters, uni- » valves and the like, pretending in this way to fast and to eat » plain food, because these animals have no blood. The aborigines of » Hainan, instead of feeding on gruel and rice on their parents' death, » then drink spirits and devour raw beef, considering supreme filial » devotion to lie therein" [3]. This contrast offered by the savage non-Chinese inhabitants of the said island, is interesting. The extract suggests that, with them, a frequent sacrificing of food and drink to the dead has given rise to a systematical feasting upon the leavings, and much eating and drinking has become a mark of

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[1] 水漿不入口者七日、自是日啖粥一器、終喪不食酒肉蔬菓. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 265, l. 20.

[2] 諸子三日不食。期九月之喪三不食、五月三月之喪再不食。親戚鄰里爲糜粥以食之、尊長强之少食可也.

[3] 欽人親死、不食魚肉而食螃蟹車螯蠔螺之屬、謂之齋素、以其無血也。海南黎人親死不食粥飯、唯飲酒食生牛肉、以爲至孝在是. Chapter 6.

devotion to the dead by reason of its proving that many head of cattle have been killed on their behalf, and large supplies of spirits been set out for their manes. Ethnographical science has sufficiently established the fact that funeral bacchanals are very common among savage peoples, and that they prevail widely among the less civilized tribes of the great Polynesian stock, of which the Hainanese are most likely a branch.

Fasting for the dead has now almost entirely disappeared from the list of customs of the people of southern Fuhkien. In a case of death there, the inmates of the mortuary house are accustomed to bestow little care on their cooking, as the disposal of the corpse claims nearly all their attention and time; but this cannot be called systematic fasting. Clearer vestiges of a former methodical abstinence from forbidden food and drink still survive. In Amoy, mourners never give festive entertainments, nor do they attend those of others, because meat, duly washed down with spirits distilled from rice, is an indispensable dish at every banquet. That the *Ta Ts^{c}ing t^{c}ung li* formally prescribes that »mourners shall all abstain from participating in festive meals" has been stated already on page 608. Elsewhere in this Volume (page 568) the reader has seen that the *Ta Ts^{c}ing luh li* threatens with eighty blows those who violate this rescript; but this Code moreover contains the following article: »If in a family which is in mourning the men and women mix »together disorderly during the celebration of Buddhistic religious »rites or Taoistic sacrificial masses, drinking spirits or eating flesh, »the seniors of the family shall receive eighty blows with the long »stick; the Buddhist or Taoist clergymen shall be punished in the »same manner, and be reduced to laymen again" [1].

Considering that fasting was at the outset abstaining from food with a view to being able to sacrifice so much the more to the dead, it is a natural consequence that the ancient Chinese likewise observed a special fast as an introductory rite to the sacrifices which custom required to be offered to the manes of the dead at regular periods after the demise, and even after the close of the mourning. In course of time, such sacrificial fasting, as we may call it, was gradually disconnected from its original material base. Ceasing to be considered as an auxiliary expedient for feeding the soul the better,

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[1] 其居喪之家修齋設醮、若男女混雜、飲酒食肉者、家長杖八十、僧道同罪、還俗. Chapter 17, § 喪葬.

it became a means of raising the mind up to the soul, a means to enable the sacrificer to perform in a more perfect way the acts of worship incumbent upon him, by bringing about a closer contact between himself and the soul. We cannot, however, now discuss fasting in this later stage of development, but must defer it for our disquisitions on the sacrificial worship of human manes, which will find a place in the Second Book.

Fasting for the Ruler.

Having seen that, since ancient times, fasting for the dead in China was inseparably connected with mourning, it can surprise nobody to find, that once it formed a part of the mourning to be observed by grandees on the demise of their Ruler. »On the » death of the feudal Ruler Tao (of the state of Lu)", thus the *Li ki* states (chapter 13, l. 3), »Ki Chao-tszĕ asked Ming King-tszĕ » what sort of food ought to be taken for a deceased prince. The » answer ran: 'To eat gruel for him is the general rule for the whole » Empire'. 'But', retorted the other, 'nobody throughout the four » quarters of the world is ignorant of the fact that we, three » ministers, have not been able to live (in harmony) with the royal » family. I could by an effort emaciate myself, but would it not » make men doubt whether I was doing so in sincerity? I will » continue taking my usual food'"[1]. Accordingly, fasting for a ruler was even severe enough to entail bodily emaciation; and hence it is quite natural to read in the *Li ki* (chapter 12, l. 3): »On » the demise of a feudal lord, the seniors of the whole body of » officers have to carry a staff"[2].

Elsewhere the *Li ki* gives some details about such official fasting (ch. 57, ll. 39 and 41), though not in a way which is marked by an excess of lucidity. »On the death of a feudal lord, his eldest son, Great » officers, other sons and sundry officials ate nothing for three days, » but restricted themselves to rice gruel. After this they received

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[1] 悼公之喪季昭子問於孟敬子曰、爲君何食。敬子曰、食粥天下之達禮也。吾三臣者之不能居公室也四方莫不聞矣。勉而爲瘠則吾能、毋乃使人疑夫不以情居瘠者乎哉。我則食食. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 公之喪、諸達官之長杖. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

» an allowance of rice, one handful in the morning and the same » quantity in the evening, of which they ate as many times as they » deemed fit. The ordinary officers (not living at the Court?) took » their meals at long intervals and drank nothing but water, eating » without any regard to fixed times; and the same line of conduct » was pursued by the ladies, viz. by the ruler's principal consort » and the wives of the Great officers and ordinary officers" [1].

As a curiosity we may add that rulers in those times were obviously in the habit of fasting a little for their grandees. » At » the burial of a high noble or Great officer", says the *Li ki* (ch. 56, l. 17), » the ruler does not eat meat, and when the period » of wailing is being closed, he has no music. Nor does he have » music when an ordinary officer is being temporarily buried in » his house" [2].

That fasting on the death of sovereigns was binding during the Han dynasty is sufficiently proved by the fact, annotated on page 628, that the emperor Wen himself ordained that on his death there should be no abstinence from spirits and meat observed for him. We have not come across any distinct reference to the subject in the annals of ensuing ages; so we are inclined to believe that, since the Han dynasty, fasting for the Sons of Heaven has never been imposed upon the nation by official rescripts. Doubtless this may be ascribed in the first place to the circumstance that the precepts relating to it, which the ancient books of rites contain, are extremely vague and are nowhere stated to have applied to the nation in general.

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[1] 君之喪、子大夫公子衆士皆三日不食、子大夫公子衆士食粥。納財、朝一溢米、莫一溢米、食之無算。士疏食水飲、食之無算。婦人亦如之、君大夫士一也. Section 喪大記, I.

[2] 君於卿大夫比葬不食肉、比卒哭不舉樂。爲士比殯不舉樂. Section 雜記, II, 2.

CHAPTER VIII.

REACTION AGAINST THE WASTE OF WEALTH IN BURYING THE DEAD.

After all that has been stated in the several chapters of this work, the undisputed fact remains that a proper disposal of the dead was one of the main features in the social and religious life of the ancient Chinese. We have described with how much care they were accustomed to wash and dress their deceased next-of-kin, how much attention they paid to coffins and grave vaults, how they fitted out the graves with all sorts of valuables and requisites of life, with what an enormous sacrifice of wealth they raised tombs broad and high for the great of this world, for the double purpose of honouring them and placing their bodies beyond the reach of the pilfering and destroying hand of man. Seeing that the whole nation thus was enslaved by the conviction that a proper disposal of the dead is one of the most sacred duties incumbent upon man, is it not quite natural that ethic philosophers, the moral leaders of the people, should put themselves forward as ardent advocates thereof?

»The unrestrained devoted subjection which ought to reign all »around", says the *Li ki* (chapter 33, l. 32), »is the imperishable »and unalterable element which causes the living to be nourished »properly, the dead to be committed to the earth in a proper »way, and their manes to be properly served" [1]. Confucius too connected the disposal of the dead immediately with the great virtue of submission and devotion to superiors, for it is stated that, on being asked what h i a o is, he answered: »It consists in »serving the parents during their life with observance of what the »established rites demand, and of burying them after their death »and then sacrificing to their manes, likewise with observation of »what the rites demand" [2]. We need not quote further citations of

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[1] 大順者所以養生送死事鬼神之常也. Section 禮運, IV.

[2] 生事之以禮、死葬之以禮、祭之以禮. *Lun yü*, II, 5.

this kind, because our readers have learned sufficiently from this work that the three ancient books of rites contain an astounding number of rules and rescripts concerning the way in which the dead ought to be treated.

It is not unnatural that public opinion in ancient China interpreted the duty of consigning the dead to their graves in a proper way in the sense of conducting their obsequies with very great waste of wealth. Orthodox conservatism upheld in this respect the customs of primeval times, during which, as we may suppose, almost the whole of the property of the surviving relatives accompanied their dead into the grave; indeed, in Chapter IV it has been shown that still during the Cheu dynasty the dead were placed in their graves with enormous quantities of articles of value and for daily use. This chapter shows likewise that in those times a strong reaction against such practices was already at work. Advancing culture could, of course, feel no satisfaction in such barbarous destruction of wealth. Thus an opposition school arose against the old conservatism, that in its turn gave rise to another school which defended the maintenance of expensive funerals, fearing their abolition would necessarily entail a decline of the hiao. This last-named school stood its ground for centuries; but, though displaying great tenacity of existence, it has been unable to maintain its cause in the long run. It disappeared entirely from the scenes after a hard struggle, in which the first school gained an absolute ascendency over it in mediæval and modern times. To draw up an account of this struggle with the help of data given by native books, is the object of the present chapter.

The oldest documentary evidence now extant concerning a spirit of reaction against waste of wealth in disposing of the dead, is probably the following episode, relating to the renowned statesman Kwan Chung [1] or Kwan I-wu [2], who died B. C. 645. »In the » kingdom of Ts'i the people were bent upon burying the dead in an » expensive style. All woven stuffs were used up for grave clothes » and shrouds, all the timber for coffins and grave vaults. Hwan, » the ruler, feeling grieved at this, spoke with Kwan Chung » about the matter. 'If, said he, all woven fabrics are used in » that way, none of my subjects will in the end have anything » to cover himself with, and if all the timber is wasted, there will » be nothing left them wherewith to construct dwellings; and yet

[1] 管仲. [2] 管夷吾.

» the people do not cease from burying the dead at such great » expense. What is your opinion about taking measures against » it?' To which Kwan Chung replied: 'In general, human acts » are performed from a desire to obtain a good reputation or to » gain profit'; — and hereupon a decree was issued to the effect » that, whenever a coffin or vault exceeded certain dimensions, the » corpse should be mangled and punishment be inflicted on the » mourners. In fact, no reputation could be earned by the sur- » vivors by a mutilation of their dead, nor could family chiefs reap » profit by incurring castigation; what reasons could there be under » such circumstances to maintain the expensive burials?" [1]

The invaluable *Li ki*, to which we so rarely apply in vain for information on any subject of antiquity, also introduces us to a partisan of the school of economy in the person of Kwoh Tszĕ-kao or Ch'ing Tszĕ-kao, whose acquaintance our readers have made already on page 361. »Burying", said this scholar, » means hiding » away, and this hiding away arises from a desire that men should » not see the corpse. Hence the grave garments ought just to » suffice to dress the corpse decently, the coffin should surround » the clothes, the vault embrace the coffin on all sides, and the » earth embrace the vault in the same wise. And shall we then » raise a tumulus over the grave, and plant it with trees?' — » When Ch'ing Tszĕ-kao was laid up ill, Khing-i entered and » politely asked him: 'Your disease, Master, is severe; what are » we to do if it should prove to be the great illness (*i. e.* death)?' » Upon this, Tszĕ-kao replied: 'I have been taught that, during » life, we should be useful to others, and in death should do » them no harm. I have never been of any use to others during » my life, and may I then do them harm by my death? When I

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[1] 齊國好厚葬。布帛盡於衣衾、材木盡於棺槨。桓公患之以告管仲。曰、布帛盡則無以爲蔽、材木盡則無以爲守備、而人厚葬之不休、禁之奈何。管仲對曰、凡人之有爲也非名之則利之也、於是乃下令曰、棺槨過度者戮其尸、罪夫當喪者。夫戮死無名、罪當長者無利、人何故爲之也. *Han Fei tszĕ* 韓非子, the Works of the Philosopher Han Fei, who lived in the third century before our era; chapter IX; or § 30, 內儲說, I.

» die, select a plot of ground which does not produce any food, » and bury me there' " [1].

In the struggle against the orthodox lavishness in burying the dead Confucius decidedly sided with the party of the golden mean. Yet he was far from enforcing upon others his views in this respect, for we read that, » when his disciples wished to give (their fellow » disciple) Yen Yuen a rich burial at his death, and the Master ad- » vised them not to do any such thing, yet they buried him in rich » style" [2]. Had the Sage ever shown himself to his disciples other- wise than a mere lukewarm partisan of economy in burying the dead, they would not have thus ventured to act in opposition to his views; hence the conclusion is obvious that his objection to burying Yen Yuen in an expensive style amounted only to a mild exhortation. Another proof that the Sage only advocated moderation in the mat- ter, we have in the fact that the *Li ki* states (chapter 11, l. 21): » The » Philosopher said: 'Where there are means, the established rites » should not be exceeded. And if there are no means, then let the » body be dressed from head to foot and be buried without delay, » the coffin being let down by means of ropes and covered with a » tumulus. How can man find fault with such a procedure? [3]. If » you wrap the body round from head to foot, and quickly bury it » without using a vault, this being suitable to your means, you » may be said to act in accordance with the established rites' " [4]. On another occasion » he said: 'Yen-ling Ki-tszĕ was a man of

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[1] 國子高曰、葬也者藏也、藏也者欲人之弗得見也。是故衣足以飾身、棺周於衣、槨周於棺、土周於槨。反壤樹之哉。

成子高寢疾、慶遺入請曰、子之病革矣、如至乎大病則如之何。子高曰、吾聞之也、生有益於人、死不害於人。吾縱生無益於人、吾可以死害於人乎哉。我死則擇不食之地而葬我焉. Chapter 11, ll. 29 and 27; or section 檀弓, I, 3.

[2] 顏淵死、門人欲厚葬之、子曰不可、門人厚葬之. *Lun yŭ*, XI, 10.

[3] 夫子曰、有毋過禮。苟亡矣斂首足形、還葬、縣棺而封。人豈有非之者哉. Section 檀弓, I, 3.

4 See page 291.

» Wu versed in the rites. When I went there, I saw him bury » one of his dead. The pit was not so deep as to reach the ground- » water; he had clothed the dead man in garments which he » had worn in ordinary times, and after the interment he merely » raised such a tumulus as was just big enough to cover the » pit on all sides, and just so high that the hand could be » easily placed upon it'.... Confucius said: 'Was not therefore » this Yen-ling Ki-tszĕ, observing the rites, in accordance with the » same?'"[1]

The party which Confucius had joined is found to appeal very often to an utterly unreliable tradition recorded in the *Yih king* and reproduced and criticized on page 281, to the effect that no tumuli were raised over graves in very ancient times, nor trees planted on the spot, and that in subsequent ages the sages deemed it sufficient for a proper burial to use only coffins and grave vaults. An instance of such appeals has been quoted on page 311. The highest happiness and perfection of mankind has, indeed, always been considered by the wise men of China to lie in a return to those excellent olden times when all customs and usages were, as they thought, characterized by a most exemplary simplicity. Confucius himself, it is stated, imposed the simplicity of burials, of which the *Yih king* speaks, upon the people of Chung-tu while he administered that country as Governor (see page 303); yet his private conduct when he had to commit his own parents to the earth, was not in harmony with his official measures. » When he » had found the opportunity to bury both his parents in one grave at » Fang, he said: 'I have heard that anciently the dead were buried » in graves over which no mounds were raised; but now-a-days » there are members of our family Khiu living to the east, west, » south and north, so that there must be something to render » the spot recognizable'. On this he raised a mound over the grave, » four feet high. He returned home first, his disciples remaining » behind. Then a heavy rain fell. When they rejoined their Master, » he asked them: 'Why are you so late?' — 'The grave at Fang gave » way', they answered. Confucius did not reply; but when they

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[1] 孔子曰、延陵季子吳之習於禮者也。往而觀其葬焉。其坎深不至於泉、其斂以時服、既葬而封、廣輪揜坎、其高可隱也。。。。孔子曰、延陵季子之於禮也其合矣乎. *Li ki*, chapter 14, l. 16; or section 檀弓 II, 3.

» had told him thrice, he melt into tears, and said: 'And yet it » was known to me that the ancients never needed to repair their » graves!'" [1]. This outburst of grief shows the remorse he felt at not having imitated the holy ancients by raising a mound over the grave.

Considering the almost unbounded influence which Confucius has exercised over the Chinese nation both by his doctrines and personal conduct, we may well believe that by his hesitation, when the burial of his own parents took place, to stand firm by the principles of the school which preached a thorough restoration of the ancient simplicity, he has had a great share in maintaining during all subsequent ages the use of substantial and expensive coffins, the construction of pompous mausolea and large graves for the dead of distinction and wealth, and the planting of beautiful and lofty trees thereon. The wealth spent upon these things since his time may truly be said to be enormous and to defy all calculation, as our readers can judge from Chapter IV of the second Part of this Book, and from Chapters V and XIV of the present Part.

The school of economy in the disposing of the dead, in vogue in the time of Confucius, seems to have developed its energies especially in the fifth and fourth century before our era under the influence of Mih-tszĕ [2], a most remarkable figure among the philosophers of ancient China. Our Western world learned for the first time something more about this man than his name in 1859, when Dr. Edkins published a short biography of him, with some jottings about the writings which bear his name [3]. Afterwards Dr. Legge produced a literal translation of the sage's doctrines on Universal Love [4]; but both Sinologists have left his disquisitions against prodigality in funeral matters almost untouched. We will therefore avail ourselves of the present occasion to place them before our

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1 孔子既得合葬於防曰、吾聞之、古也墓而不墳、今丘也東西南北之人也、不可以弗識也。於是封之崇四尺。孔子先反、門人後。雨甚。至、孔子問焉曰、爾來何遲也。曰、防墓崩。孔子不應、三、孔子泫然流涕曰、吾聞之古不脩墓. *Li ki*, chapter 9, l. 14; or section 檀弓, I, 1.

2 墨子.

3 In the Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I, p. 165.

4 In his Chinese Classics, vol. II, Prolegomena.

readers; but first a word must be said about that boldest thinker of his time and about his school.

Little is known of him. His real name was Mih Tih [1], but he is commonly designated as Mih-tszĕ, »The philosopher Mih". The only notice of him which has any historical value, occurs in the Historical Records, and runs as follows: »Mih Tih was a Great officer in the state »of Sung. He displayed great skill in defending (the capital of) that »state and also in retrenching outlay in administering the people. »Some say he was a contemporary of Confucius, but others main»tain that he lived after him" [2]. Szĕ-ma Ching [3], a distinguished scholar of the eighth century, says in his celebrated »Elucidation of the Historical Records" [4]: »In the writings which bear Mih-tszĕ's »name, mention is made of one Wen-tszĕ, a disciple of Tszĕ-hia, »who interrogated Mih-tszĕ. Consequently, Mih-tszĕ must have lived »later than the seventy disciples of Confucius" [5] — Tszĕ-hia being one of them.

We may note here that Mih-tszĕ is also the reputed inventor of the flying kite. The philosopher Liu Ngan has recorded that »Mih»tszĕ made a wooden kite, which he caused to fly for three days »without allowing it to take rest" [6]; but there is no evidence to prove that this statement rests on historical foundation.

In the Catalogue of Literature contained in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty [7] the Mihist writers are arranged under a separate class or school. Six are mentioned, inclusive of Mih-tszĕ himself; three of these are stated to have been his disciples, and the two others to have belonged to an earlier period, the life of one of them, named Yin Yih [8], being placed as far back as the sovereigns Ch'ing [9] and Khang [10] of the Cheu dynasty, who are supposed to have ruled the Empire in the twelfth century before Christ. According

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1 墨翟.

2 墨翟宋之大夫。善守、禦爲節用。或曰並孔子時、或曰在其後. Chapter 74, ll. 6 and 7

3 司馬貞. 4 史記索隱.

5 墨子書有文子、文子子夏之弟子、問於墨子。如此則墨子者在七十子後也. See the Khienlung edition of the Historical Records, ch. 74, l. 7.

6 墨子以木爲鳶而飛之三日不集. *Hung lieh kiai*, chapter 11. 7 Chapter 30.

8 尹佚. 9 成. 10 康.

to the same Catalogue, Yin Yih's writings embraced two books (p'ien) which, so far as we know, are irretrievably lost; it is also unknown whether they treated of economy in disposing of the dead. Hence Mih-tszĕ is the most ancient author of the school, whose opinions on the subject are still extant in a written shape. It is doubtless owing to the stern opposition which, as we shall show on page 684, Mencius offered to him, that the attention of scholars has never been entirely withdrawn from his doctrines, which have thus escaped total oblivion and perdition. But they have come down to us in a very mutilated shape. According to the above mentioned Catalogue of books, they consisted of seventy-one chapters. Eighteen of these have since been lost, among which two treating of »Simplicity in burials" [1]. Of the remaining one we now offer a translation to our readers, taking the liberty to skip a few passages which have no reference to our subject. The style is prolix and tedious, and spoilt by numerous superfluous repetitions. The frequent recurrence of the phrase: »Our Master Mih-tszĕ said" places it beyond doubt that the piece was not committed to writing by Mih-tszĕ himself, but by some unknown disciple of his. The copy from which we have prepared our translation was edited and annotated in 1781 by Pi Yuen [2], Governor of the province of Shensi.

»When the holy sovereigns of the first three dynasties [3] had »passed away, the world lost its moral rectitude. During subsequent »generations of men, some amongst the magnates became convinced »that burying the dead in rich style and mourning long for »them were things identical with humanity, rectitude and the »devotion of filial sons, while others cherished a contrary opinion. »Hence there arose two schools of philosophy, the doctrines of which »were conflicting and the rules of conduct of which were diametric»ally opposite. Both schools said: 'Our first founders have based »their tenets upon precedents set by Yao [4], Shun [5], Yü [6], T'ang [7], »Wen and Wu' [8]; and yet their doctrines were conflicting and they

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1 節葬. 2 畢沅.

3 Those of Hia, Shang and Yin.

4 The ancient paragon of sovereigns, mentioned on page 605.

5 Hiao's successor on the throne, mentioned on page 418.

6 The founder of the Hia dynasty.

7 The reputed founder of the Shang dynasty.

8 The founder of the Cheu dynasty, and his father.

» followed opposite rules of conduct. Is it amazing therefore that great » men of later generations have vacillated between the doctrines of » those two schools? But why then are those doctrines nevertheless » transmitted with indulgence and even converted into official rescripts, » so that the nation, on seeing this, naturally arrives at the conclu- » sion that rich burials and long mourning really stand in the closest » relationship to the aforesaid three good things (humanity, moral » rectitude, filial devotion)?[1]

» I state it as my opinion that, if by burying the dead in a rich » style and mourning long for them in obedience to the doctrines of » the said school and in conformity with its views, the poor can really » be enriched, a sparse population be increased, dangers be removed » (from the Throne) and disorder converted into good rule, then in » this case such burials and such mourning do constitute in point of » fact humanity, moral rectitude and filial devotion. Then propa- » ganda should certainly be made of them by those who work for » the good of mankind, then no philanthropist who strives to » place at the head of this world men who hold the reins of » government with a firm hand[2] and to make the people ap- » preciate such men, should ever neglect the observance of such » burials and such mourning. But, on the other hand my opinion » is that humanity, moral rectitude and filial devotion do *not* con- » sist in performing rich burials and observing long mourning pe- » riods in obedience to the doctrines of that school and in con- » formity with its views, in case such burials and such mourning » do not enrich the poor, nor increase the population, nor remove » dangers, nor convert anarchy into good rule. Then, in this case, » those who work for man's welfare should not scruple to interfere » with such matters, and every philanthropist who is anxious to

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1 三代聖王既沒、天下失義。後世之君子或以厚葬久喪以爲仁也、義也、孝子之事也、或以厚葬久喪以爲非仁義、非孝子之事也。曰二子者言則相非、行即相反。皆曰、吾上祖述堯舜禹湯文武之道者也、而言即相非、行即相反。於此乎後世之君子皆疑惑乎二子者言也。若苟疑惑乎之二子者言、然則姑嘗傅而爲政乎、國家萬民而觀之、計厚葬久喪奚當此三利者。

2 Here the text has the character 賈, which is probably a misprint for 霸.

» prevent acts which are ruinous to the world and to induce the » people to refrain from such acts, must during the whole of his life » abstain from such burials and such mourning. From most ancient » times down to the present day it has never happened that the » nation became unruly, at a time when the material interests of the » world were being promoted and things hurtful to man's advantage » were being removed. How do we know this? [1]

(No answer is given to this question. Hence we must suppose that either there is a gap in the text, or that the question itself is out of place).

» It was on account of the fact that even now-a-days many of » the officers and grandees in this world are living in doubt whether » rich burials and long mourning are good, proper and harmless, » that our Master Mih-tszĕ said:

» Well, let us then patiently put the matter to the test. Those » who, however versed in [2] matters of legislation they may be, » adhere to rich burials and long mourning, because they deem these » to be useful for the nation, such men pretend that, when sovereigns, » feudal rulers and grandees have sustained a loss by death, the coffin » and the vault must be heavy and substantial, the interment accom- » panied by profuse expenditure, the clothes and shrouds numerous, » ornamentation and embroidery abundant, and the tumulus big. » They further pretend that, in a case of death among warriors [3] » or commoners, these ought to squander away almost everything, even

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1 我意、若使法其言用其謀厚葬久喪實可以富貧、衆寡、定危、治亂乎、此仁也、義也、孝子之事也。爲人謀者不可不勸也、仁者將興之天下誰賈而使民譽之、終勿廢也。意亦使法其言用其謀厚葬久喪實不可以富貧、衆寡、定危、理亂乎、此非仁、非義、非孝子之事也。爲人謀者不可不沮也、仁者將求除天下之相廢而使人非之、終身勿爲。且故興天下之利、除天下之害、令國家百姓之不治也、自古及今未嘗之有也。何以知其然也。

2 The character 毋 in the text evidently stands for 慣, or for the homophonous 務.

3 Instead of 正夫 we ought to read 征夫.

» to their dwelling houses. Feudal lords, they say, should empty their » coach-houses, place their gold, jade, pearls and emeralds upon the » corpse, and hide bands and cords of silk in the grave, with their » savings, carts and horses; they should provide much household fur- » niture, such as curtains, caldrons, stools of earthenware and of other » material, mats, pots and ice-cans, spears, swords, feathers, yak- » tails, objects of tooth-bone and leather, and bury as many of » all these things as they please. And as to the attendants to be sent » into the tomb along with the dead, they teach that the maximum » number to be killed and buried in the case of a Son of Heaven must » amount to several hundreds, and the minimum to several times » ten, and that that for a prince or a Great officer the number ought » not to exceed several times ten, but may not be less than a cer- » tain cipher. And what do they make of the laws of mourning? [1]

» Mourners, they say, must wail and weep without regulating » the modulation of their voices. If a senior of the family has died, » they should shed their tears with a shabby coat on and with a » band around their heads; they must dwell in mourning sheds » and sleep therein upon straw or matting, with a clod of earth » for a pillow. They must encourage, nay compel one another to » suffer hunger by abstaining from food, and to suffer cold by » wearing thin clothes, so that their faces become sharp and bony [2], » their eyes sink in their sockets, their countenances turn black and » blue, their ears and eyes become unable to distinguish sounds or

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[1] 今天下之士君子將猶多皆疑惑厚葬久喪之爲中是非利害也、故子墨子言曰、

然則姑嘗稽之。今雖毋法執厚葬久喪者、言以爲事乎國家、此存乎王公大人有喪者曰棺槨必重、葬埋必厚、衣衾必多、文繡必繁、邱隴必巨。存乎正夫賤人死者殆竭家室。乎諸侯死者虛車府、然後金玉珠璣比乎身、綸組節約車馬藏乎壙、又必多爲屋幕鼎鼓几梴壺濫戈劍羽旄齒革、寢而埋之滿意。若送從曰、天子殺殉眾者數百、寡者數十、將軍大夫殺殉眾者數十、寡者數人。處喪之法將奈何哉。

2 The character 隳, which stands here in the text, is not given in the Khanghi Dictionary. We have translated as if there stood 陬 or 隳.

» objects, their hands and feet lose their strength and become unfit » for use. High officers, they say further, while in mourning, ought » not to be able to rise to their feet unless supported by others, » nor ought they to be able to walk without a staff. And all this » should be continued in this way for three years! [1]

» But if such things are prescribed institutions, if they are taught » by word and example and considered to constitute correct behav- » iour, then sovereigns, feudal rulers and grandees who practise » them become unfit to attend regularly every morning to the ad- » ministration of their states, and their several officers incapable of » bestowing their attention upon agricultural pursuits and the filling » of the granaries. And if husbandmen practise them, they certainly » must grow unable to remain outside their houses from morn » to eve, in order to plough, sow, plant and cultivate trees. If » workmen practise them, they are rendered unable to repair ships » and carts or to make implements and vessels; and if women do » the like, they cannot rise early to spin and weave, and then » retire late. A mature consideration of the matter convinces us » that rich burials are identical with burying produced wealth on » a large scale, and that mourning for a long time amounts to the » same thing as forbidding the people to exercise their professions » for that length of time. To endeavour to enrich the people by » helping those who have accumulated a little wealth to bury it » in the ground, and then to prevent those who are anxious to pro- » duce wealth from executing their purpose for a length of time, is » the same thing as trying to produce harvests by forbidding all plough- » ing. Nothing therefore that is signified by the word »enriching" is » attained by rich burials and long mourning. And hence it is that » all endeavours to create rich families have hitherto proved a failure [2].

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[1] 曰哭泣不秩聲。翁縗絰垂涕、處倚廬、寢苫枕凷。又相率强不食而爲飢、薄衣而爲寒、使面目陷隘、顏色黧黑、耳目不聰明、手足不勁强、不可用也。又曰上士之操喪也必扶而能起、杖而能行。以此共三年。

[2] 若法、若言行、若道、使王公大人行此、則必不能蚤朝、五官六府辟草木實倉廩。使農夫行此、則必不能蚤出夜入耕稼樹藝。使百工行此、則必不能修舟車爲器皿矣。使婦人行此、則必

» But has the man desirous of making rich burials and long » mourning subservient to the increase of the population, any chance » to succeed therein? The answer must again be in the negative. » Let us now see why in this respect there is no reason whatever to » consider rich burials and long mourning as consistent with good » government [1].

» A ruler, a father or mother, a wife, and a continuator of a » family, five in all, are all mourned for after their death till in » the third year. Then we have other clansfolk, as paternal uncles, » brothers, and sons by concubines, who are mourned for during » five months, while the mourning for paternal aunts, elder sisters, » sisters' sons, and maternal uncles lasts for some months. Ac- » cordingly the extenuation and emaciation of mourning are de- » cidedly subject to fixed rules. But it is required that the face » must become sharp and bony, the eyes should sink in the » head, the countenance must turn black and blue, the ears and » eyes ought to grow unfit for hearing and seeing distinctly, arms » and legs should lose their strength and become of no use. Still » further, it is ordered that high functionaries, when in mourning, » should only be able to stand on their legs when supported by » others, and that they should be incapable of walking without the » use of a staff, and that they must remain in such a condition for » three years. If, however, such things are prescribed institutions, » if they are taught by word and example and considered to con- » stitute perfect behaviour, and if the required starvation and ab- » stinence are so severe, then the people can neither bear the winter » cold, nor the heat of summer, but must fall sick and perish » in countless numbers, and the prevention of much sexual inter- » course must be the consequence hereof. To employ this method » of causing the people to multiply, may be compared to an at- » tempt to increase their chances of a long life by ordering them

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不能夙興夜寐紡績織紝。細計厚葬爲多埋賦之財者也、計久喪爲久禁從事者也。財以成者扶而埋之、後得生者而久禁之、以此求富、此譬猶禁耕而求穫也。富之說無可得焉。是故求以富家而旣已不可矣。

[1] 欲以衆人民意者可邪。其說又不可矣。今惟毋以厚葬久喪者爲政。

» to carry swords on their backs. Nothing therefore that is ex-
» pressed by the term »increase of population" is attained by rich
» burials and long mourning, which explains why all endeavours to
» thereby increase the population have utterly failed in times gone by [1].

» But may a man hope for success who desires rich burials and
» long mourning to serve as a means to ensure good government?
» Once again the answer must be: No. Let us now see why in this
» respect there is no reason to consider rich burials and long mourn-
» ing as consistent with good government [2].

» When a state is really poor and its population sparse, its
» government inevitably labours under disorders. If rich burials
» and long mourning are prescribed institutions, if they are taught
» by word and example and considered to constitute correct behav-
» iour, then the higher classes by practising them become incapable
» of administering justice and ruling the people, while the lower
» classes by practising them become unfit for attending to their labour.
» Now, if the higher classes fail in administering justice and ruling
» the people, it is self-evident that the government will be thrown
» into confusion. And if the lower classes do not attend to their work,
» their means of procuring food and raiment will undoubtedly become
» insufficient to meet their needs. In consequence hereof, younger broth-
» ers, on applying in vain to their elder brothers for succour, lose the
» devotion they owe to the latter, and even conceive a hatred against
» them. Sons likewise having recourse to their parents fruitlessly for

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[1] 君死喪之三年、父母死喪之三年、妻與後子死者五皆喪之三年。然後伯父叔父兄弟孽子其族人五月、姑姊甥舅皆有月數。則毀瘠必有制矣。使面目陷陬、顏色黧黑、耳目不聰明、手足不勁強、不可用也。又曰上士憔喪也必扶而能起、杖而能行、以此共三年。若法、若言行、若道、苟其飢約又若此矣、是故百姓冬不仞寒、夏不仞暑、作疾病死者不可勝計也、此其爲敗男女之交多矣。以此求衆譬猶使人負劍而求其壽也。衆之說無可得焉、是故求以衆人民而既以不可矣。

[2] 欲以治刑政意者可乎。其說又不可矣。今惟毋以厚葬久喪者爲政。

» help, sink their filial devotion and submission, and conceive a » grudge against the authors of their being. And ministers, on finding » the succour which they demand from their ruler not granted them, » cast off their loyalty and revolt against their lord. As a natural » consequence, a depraved people, ill behaved, without raiment to » cover them outside their houses, without food to eat in-doors, » pouring forth continuous yells of woe from their dwellings, as » one man indulge in licentious and cruel acts; and as there is » nothing to keep them within bounds, robbers and rebels increase » in numbers, but orderly people become scarce. All endeavours to » establish good government by first multiplying robbers and rebels » and decreasing the orderly population, we may compare to order- » ing a man to turn round [1] three times without once turning his » back to us. Nothing therefore that is implied in the term »good » government" is attained by rich burials and long mourning; and » hence it is that attempts to thereby promote good government » have not been crowned with success hitherto [2].

»But may the man who wishes to cause rich burials and long » mourning to serve as a means of preventing large states from at- » tacking small states expect good results? This time again the answer » must be in the negative. Generally speaking, large states for the » following reasons refrain from attacking a small one: if the latter » has laid up large stores of provisions, if it has its city-walls in » good repair and harmony reigns among its chiefs and their sub-

1 The text has 罳, which is meaningless. We translate as if there stood 還.

2 國家必貧、人民必寡、刑政必亂。若法、若言行、若道、使爲上者行此、則不能聽治、使爲下者行此、則不能從事。上不聽治、刑政必亂、下不從事、衣食之財必不足。若苟不足、爲人弟者求其兄而不得、不弟、弟必將怨其兄矣。爲人子者求其親而不得、不孝、子必是怨其親矣。爲人臣者求之君而不得、不忠、臣必且亂其上矣。是以僻淫邪行之民、出則無衣也、入則無食也、內纊奚吾、並爲淫暴、而不可勝禁也、是故盜賊眾而治者寡。先眾盜賊而寡治者以此求治、譬猶使人三罳而毋負已也。治之說無可得焉、是故求以治刑政而既已不可矣。

» jects, no great states find pleasure in attacking it. But they do » attack it when it has no provisions in store, when it has not its » cities in good repair, when its chiefs do not live in harmony » with their subjects. Let us now see why there are also in respect » of the point in question no reasons to consider rich burials and » long mourning as conducive to good government. Rich burials and » long mourning inevitably impoverish a nation, decimate its popu- » lation, and cause its government to fall into confusion. Now then, » an impoverished realm is devoid of means to lay up provisions; » if its population is sparse, its fortified cities, moats and canals » are few, and when its government is in a state of confusion, » it cannot, on marching out to wage a war, gain any victories, » nor stand firm when it retires to defend its territory. Here we » have it explained why all efforts to prevent large states from » attacking petty kingdoms have necessarily remained unsuccessful » hitherto [1].

» But may he who desires by means of rich burials and long » mourning to insure the blessing of the High Emperor (*i. e.* Heaven) » and of the spiritual beings in general, expect to succeed therein? » Again we must answer: No. Let us now see why on this head » there is no reason to consider rich burials and long mourning as » consistent with good government [2].

» We have seen that they must impoverish the state, reduce the » population, and disorganize the government. If the state is poor, the » sacrificial millet vessels and the sacrificial must and spirits become » unclean; if its population is sparse, there are but a small num-

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[1] 欲以禁止大國之攻小國也意者可邪。其說又不可矣。是故凡大國之所以不攻小國者、積委多、城郭修、上下調和、是故大國不耆攻之。無積委、城郭不修、上下不調和、是故大國者攻之。今惟毋以厚葬久喪者爲政。國家必貧、人民必寡、刑政必亂。若苟貧、是無以爲積委也、若苟寡、是城郭溝渠者寡也、若苟亂、是出戰不克、入守不固。此求禁止大國之攻小國也而旣已不可矣。

[2] 欲以干上帝鬼神之福意者可邪。其說又不可矣。今惟毋以厚葬久喪者爲政。

» ber of worshippers of the High Emperor and the spiritual beings; » if anarchy reigns within its borders, no regular sacrifices are pre- » sented to those powers at fixed periods assigned therefor. When » official measures are taken which thus frustrate the worship of the » High Emperor and the spiritual beings, then these descend forthwith » from the spheres above to lay their hands upon the ruler, saying: » 'Shall we keep this man in our service, or not?' And they will » decree: 'It does not matter whether we keep him or not'; » immediately they will send down punishments over him and » crush him down under all sorts of calamities; and thus having » chastised him, they will cast him out. Why then should not » mankind, having such a prospect before them, resume a proper » line of conduct? [1]

» For all these reasons, the perfect sovereigns of antiquity regu- » lated burials by rescripts. They held that coffins should be three » inches thick, this being sufficient with a view to the decompo- » sition of the body; that the articles to clothe and enshroud the » corpse should not exceed the number of three, this being quite » sufficient to hide the shocking effects of death; at the interment the » bottom of the coffin must not reach the ground-water, nor should » any smell escape from the lid, and the grave mound ought » to be so low as not to be distinguishable from the fields that » have been ploughed a couple of times. No more than this ought » to be done for the dead. And after the interment of the defunct, » none among the survivors might howl so long as to fall sick, but » everybody must attend to his daily business, so that people could » continue to produce things according to their abilities, and be of » service to one another by bartering the same. Such were the laws » of those holy monarchs. And nevertheless, the partisans of the system

1 The text of the last sentence is so ambiguous that we give our translation under some reserve. We suppose some of the characters in it have either been transposed, omitted or mutilated.

國家必貧、人民必寡、刑政必亂。若苟貧、是粢盛酒醴不淨潔也、若苟寡、是事上帝鬼神者寡也、若苟亂、是祭祀不時度也。今又禁止事上帝鬼神爲政、若此上帝鬼神始得從上撫之曰、我有是人也與無是人也。孰愈曰、我有是人也與無是人也無擇也、則惟上帝鬼神降之罪、厲之禍、罰而棄之。則豈不亦反其所哉。

» of burying the dead with much waste of wealth and mourning for » them a long time say: 'Taking for granted that such burials and » such mourning neither enrich the poor, nor increase the popu- » lation, nor remove dangers (from the Throne), nor convert anarchy » into good rule, yet the fact remains that the selfsame most per- » fect sovereigns did practise them'. To this our Master Mih-tszĕ gave » answer: [1]

»'This is not true. In ancient times, when Yao died on an » expedition which he had undertaken to discipline the eight savage » tribes in the North, and was buried on the northern slope of » mount Khiung, he was only enveloped in three dresses and » shrouds. His coffin was made of wood of the Kioh tree, and Do- » lichos creepers were tied around it, and when it was placed in » the grave [2] they wailed for him, filled the pit with earth, but » raised no mound over it, so that cows and horses rambled over » the spot when the burial was over. When Shun had died by » the way while reducing to order the seven tribes of barbarians » in the West, and was buried in the market town of Nan-ki, » his grave clothes and shrouds likewise consisted of no more than » three; his coffin too was of Kioh wood and wound round » with Dolichos creepers, and when his interment was completed, » the people of that town freely moved over his grave [3]. And » when Yü, while travelling abroad to discipline the nine tribes of » barbarians in the East, had passed away and was buried in the » mountains of Hwui-khi, no more than three dresses and shrouds » were placed around his body; his coffin of T'ung wood was only » three inches thick, and the Dolichos creepers that were tied

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[1] 故古聖王制爲葬埋之法。曰、棺三寸、足以朽體、衣衾三領、足以覆惡、以及其葬也、下毋及泉、上毋通臭、壟若參耕之畝。則止矣。死者既以葬矣生者必無久哭而疾、而從事、人爲其所能以交相利也。此聖王之法也。今執厚葬久喪者之言曰、厚葬久喪雖使不可以富貧、衆寡、定危、治亂、然此聖王之道也。子墨子曰、

2 Here the text has the character 汜, which obviously stands for the homophonous 窆.

3 Compare herewith what has been stated on page 418 about the alleged graves of Yao and Shun.

» around it were twisted so loosely, that they did not even cause » the boards to fit tight together. And on making the grave, they » did not dig deep into the bowels of the earth, but contented » themselves with interring the coffin so that the bottom did not » reach the ground-water and no bad smell escaped at the top; and » when the burial was over, they placed the rest of the earth upon » the grave in such a wise that it could not be distinguished from » the cultivated fields around. No more than this was done for those » rulers. Such a line of conduct having been followed with regard to » these three most perfect monarchs, it is clear that rich burials and » long mourning were certainly not practised by the holy sovereigns » in general. And considering that they occupied a high position » in their quality of Sons of Heaven, and that they were wealthy » as owners of the Empire, it is inadmissible that they were buried » in such a plain manner because labouring under a want of » means [1].

»At present, the way in which sovereigns, feudal rulers and » grandees are buried differs totally from the above. Large coffins » and inner coffins are invariably used for them, as also ornamented » leather and threefold pieces of worked silk [2], a set of jade badges, » spears, swords, caldrons, earthenware stools, jars, ice-cans, em- » broidered and unornamented silk, large halters, countless gar- » ments, carts and horses, a complete set of musical instruments » for ladies. And people say, the clay must be rammed down so

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1 不然。昔者堯北教乎八狄道死、葬蛩山之陰、衣衾三領。穀木之棺、葛以緘之、既汜而後哭、滿堛、無封、已葬而牛馬乘之。舜西教乎七戎道死、葬南已之市、衣衾三領、穀木之棺、葛以緘之、已葬而市人乘之。禹東教乎九夷道死、葬會稽之山、衣衾三領、桐棺三寸、葛以緘之、絞之不合。通之不堛土地之深、下毋及泉、上毋通臭、既葬收餘壤其上、壟若參耕之畝。則止矣。若以此若三聖王者觀之、則厚葬久喪果非聖王之道。故三王者皆貴爲天子、富有天下、豈憂財用之不足哉以爲如此葬埋之法。

2 The text has 革閭三操, which, according to the editor, must be read 革韇三繅. We cannot say what kind of things these really were.

» well, that the difference in appearance between the mound [1] and » a natural hillock is entirely done away with. But this is precisely » the way to prevent the people from properly exercising their » professions and to destroy their wealth to an amount incalcul- » able! Such useless proceedings being indulged in, our Master » Mih-tszĕ has told us: [2]

» At the outset I have declared [3] it as my opinion that, if » by burying the dead in a rich style and mourning long for » them in accordance with the doctrines and views of the sages » who advocate such things, the poor can indeed be enriched, » the population be increased, dangers be removed from the Throne, » and anarchy be converted into good rule, that then indeed such » burials and such mourning constitute humanity, moral rectitude » and filial devotion, and in this case should certainly be encou- » raged by those who work for man's welfare. I have also declared » it as my opinion that rich burials and long mourning do not » constitute humanity, righteousness and filial devotion if they » cannot produce the said good effects, and that, in this case, » the people certainly must be withheld therefrom by those who » try to promote the good of mankind. I have furthermore stated » that, in consequence of such burials and such mourning, all » efforts to enrich the State have no other results than to create » dire poverty, all endeavours to increase the population have the » effect of decreasing it, all attempts at establishing good government » create the greatest disorder; further that it has hitherto proved » useless to try by rich burials and long mourning to prevent large » states from attacking small ones, and that misfortunes fall to the lot » of those who desire to secure thereby the blessings of the High Em- » peror and the spiritual beings. I have shown above that Yao, Shun, » Yü, T'ang, Wen and Wu acted on principle in frustrating the bu- » rials and mourning in question, and I will prove anon that even the

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1 The character 雖 in the text is doubtless a misprint for 堆.

2 今王公大人之爲葬埋則異於此。必大棺、中棺、革閬、三操、璧玉即具、戈劍鼎鼓壺濫、文繡、素練、大鞅、萬領、輿馬、女樂皆具。曰必捶埳、差通壟雖凡山陵。此爲輟民之事、靡民之財不可勝計也。其爲毋用若此矣、是故子墨子曰、

3 See page 667.

» measures of Kieh and Cheu [1], Yiu and Li [2] were directed to insuring » economy in these matters [3], from which we must conclude that » rich burials and long mourning were not practised by the holy » sovereigns. And yet the adherents of rich burials and long mourning » say: 'Admitting that it is true they were not practised by the » sovereigns of ancient times, what do you say then to the fact that » the patricians in our Middle Kingdom do not discontinue those » usages, but maintain them, instead of giving them up?' To this » our Master Mih-tszĕ answers: [4]

» I simply call this: mere acquiescing in habits once established, » and the consequence of a tendency to raise to the rank of a duty » the observance of whatever has grown into a custom. In former » times there existed to the east of Yueh a state, called Khai-muh. » There it was customary to kill [5] and devour the eldest son alive, » and nevertheless his younger brothers were said to very well know

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1 The sovereigns mentioned on page 116. They are generally detested by Chinese historians.

2 Two princes of the Cheu dynasty, said to have reigned respectively in the eighth and ninth century B. C. They too never stood in high repute with native historians.

3 The fact is, that not even the names of these four monarchs are mentioned in this treatise.

4 鄉者吾本言曰、意亦使法其言用其謀計厚葬久喪誠可以富貧、衆寡、定危、治亂乎、則仁也、義也、孝子之事也、爲人謀者不可不勸也。意亦使法其言用其謀若人厚葬久喪實不可以富貧、衆寡、定危、治亂乎、則非仁也、非義也、非孝子之事也、爲人謀者不可不沮也。是故求以富國家甚得貧焉、欲以衆人民甚得寡焉、欲以治刑政甚得亂焉、求以禁止大國之攻小國也而既已不可矣、欲以干上帝鬼神之福又得禍焉。上稽之堯舜禹湯文武之道而政逆之、下稽之桀紂幽厲之事猶合節也、若以此觀則厚葬久喪其非聖王之道也。今執厚葬久喪者言曰、厚葬久喪果非聖王之道、夫胡說中國之君子爲而不已、操而不擇哉。子墨子曰、

5 The character 解 which stands here in the text, obviously ought to be replaced by some other. In Lieh-tszĕ's works (see next note) we find instead of it 鮮, said in a note to mean a premature death.

» their duties towards him. And children at the death of their father » took their mother on their back and cast her out, saying that the » wife of a disembodied soul might not dwell together with them. » The ruling classes there considered such things as consistent with » good government, and the people deemed them to be good customs, » so that they were not discontinued, but maintained instead of » being given up; and yet how could they possibly coincide with the » principles of humanity and moral rectitude? Here we have good » instances of acquiescing in habits once established, and raising » to the rank of a duty the observance of whatsoever has grown into » a custom. The inhabitants of the state of Yen-jen, which was situated » to the south of Chʿu, were wont to cast away the bodies of their » deceased relatives as soon as decomposition set in, not burying » the bones until a certain time had elapsed; and such proceedings » qualified them for the name of filial sons. And the people of I-khü, » a state to the west of Tsʿin, at the death of a relative piled up » fuel and brambles, and converted the body into ashes, saying, » when the smoke whirled up, that the deceased was ascending to » distant regions; and they did not become fully qualified for the » title of filial sons ere they had done this [1]. Such things were » there considered by the ruling classes to be consistent with good » government, and the subjects deemed them to be good customs, » so that they were not discontinued, but maintained, instead of » being given up; and yet, how could they coincide with the prin- » ciples of humanity and moral rectitude? Here again we have good » instances of acquiescing in habits once established, and raising to » the rank of duty whatever has grown into a custom [2].

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1 These notes about those three realms, which perhaps never existed, except in the imagination of Chinese authors, occur also in the fifth chapter of a treatise entitled *Lieh-tszĕ* 列子, »The Philosopher Lieh", which contains, partly in the form of dialogues between remarkable persons, the disquisitions of one Lieh Yü-kheu 列禦寇. Nothing is really known of this man. Some native authors say he lived about one century before Confucius, but others put him later, viz. in the first century before our era, while other critics assert that he never existed at all, but was merely an invention of Chwang-tszĕ, who made use of him in his *Nan hwa chen king* as a figure endowed with supernatural power, magic and other qualities. The treatise which bears Lieh-tszĕ's name seems not to have been edited until the fourth century of our era, and may be a forgery.

2 此所謂便其習而義其俗者也。昔者越之東有輆沐之國者。其長子生則解而食之、謂之宜弟。其大父死、負其大母而棄之、曰鬼妻不可與

»From the above we see that the people in those three states » did too little for their dead, but that the patricians in the Middle » Kingdom do too much for them. The former having done too little, » and the latter doing too much, it is clear that moderation should » prevail with respect to burials. It is indeed appreciated when » moderation is observed with regard to the raiment and food » which are of use to the living; why then should no moderation » prevail with respect to burials which are of service to the » dead? [1]

»The rescripts which our Master Mih-tszĕ has given for burying » the dead, run as follows. The coffin must be three inches thick, this » being quite sufficient with a view to the decomposition of the bones; » the clothes and shrouds must not exceed the number of three, this » being enough for the putrefaction of the flesh; further, the pit » must not be so deep that ground-water filters through at the bottom, » and yet deep enough to prevent the escape of any smell from » the top; finally, the tumulus must be just big enough to mark the » spot. This is all that ought to be done. The mourners must wail » on their way to the grave and back; but on returning home, they » must resume their business, in order to earn the means of pro- » curing raiment, food and the requirements [2] for the sacrifices they

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居處。此上以爲政、下以爲俗、爲而不已、操而不擇、則此豈實仁義之道哉。此所謂便其習而義其俗者也。楚之南有炎人國者、其親戚死、朽其肉而棄之、然後埋其骨、乃成爲孝子。秦之西有儀渠之國者、其親戚死、聚柴薪而焚之、燻上、謂之登遐、然後成爲孝子。此上以爲政、下以爲俗、爲而不已、操而不擇、則此豈實仁義之道哉。此所謂便其習而義其俗者也.

[1] 若以此若三國者觀之、則亦猶薄矣、若中國之君子觀之、則亦猶厚矣。如彼則大厚、如此則大薄、然則葬埋之有節矣。故衣食者人之生利也、然且猶尚有節、葬埋者人之死利也、夫何獨無節於此乎.

2 Here we have in the text an unusual character 佴, most likely a misprint for 佚.

» have to offer, that they may observe the highest amount of devo-
» tion to their parents. And now we say: Such are the rescripts of
» our Master Mih-tszĕ, which neither injure the interests of the dead,
» nor those of the living. It is for the above reasons that he has
» said: 'Those among the officers and patricians in this world, who
» sincerely wish to become first-rate servants of the State by culti-
» vating humanity and moral rectitude with the object of conforming
» to the conduct of the holy sovereigns and of insuring the welfare
» of their nation, must take such official measures as agree with
» the principles of economy in the disposal of the dead, and may
» not neglect the closest attention to those principles'" [1].

It would be superfluous to dwell upon this treatise. Apart from the numerous mutilations and corruptions of the text, the style is much inferior to that of the ancient philosophical works in general, and it teems with useless particles and repetitions, both in word and phrase. The first thing which strikes our attention, is that Mih-tszĕ's purpose in confuting the extravagant waste of wealth in which his contemporaries were accustomed to indulge when burying their dead and when mourning for them, bears quite a political character. His ideal is, to behold a laborious, wealthy people, living happily in a densely populated empire, and holding in aversion every attempt at opposition to the salutary authority of governors, who know how to command their respect in every sense of the word — a nation, the chiefs and the people of which understand how to ensure everlasting blessings from above, by propitiating, in a proper way and at the proper seasons, Heaven and the inferior divinities, by means of bounteous sacrifices. He thus shows himself a true disciple of the Chinese schools of philosophy in general, most of which preach the most decided realism and materialism. He was not a solitary thinker,

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1 子墨子制爲葬埋之法曰、棺三寸、足以朽骨、衣三領、足以朽肉、掘地之深下無菹漏、氣無發洩於上、壟足以期其所。則止矣。哭往哭來、反從事乎衣食之財、佴乎祭祀、以致孝於親。故曰、子墨子之法不失死生之利者此也。故子墨子言曰、今天下之士君子中誠將欲爲仁義求爲上士、上欲中聖王之道、下欲中國家百姓之利、故當若節喪之爲政、而不可不察者此也。

not a man who lived secluded from the world, pondering over a system of ethics built upon some metaphysical or transcendental substratum. He was a thorough man of the world, a statesman, a brave warrior and strategist; and having been bred in the school of politics, no other ideal occurred to his mind than that which is expressed by the words: good government. The suggestion that the ambition of his life was chiefly directed to the material welfare of the State, and that pure ethics and morality occupied a very subordinate position in his mind, may explain to a certain extent why his reasonings are weak, so weak as even to compel him to have recourse to arguments that only raise a smile. When he recounts, for instance (see page 676), that Yao, Shun and Yü, who lived — if they ever lived at all — eighteen and more centuries before him, and of whom he can scarcely have possessed even a superficial knowledge, died under uniform circumstances, were prepared for the grave and buried in the same way; and, moreover, when he pretends to know everything about their coffins and coffinties, their grave clothes and the construction of their graves — then we cannot help concluding that he is serving up nursery tales, and that these appeals to China's venerated paragons of antiquity are little better than inventions of his own brain, forged without any regard to veracity, in his ardour to convert his contemporaries to his views. According to himself, it was an established opinion in his time that those ancient sovereigns had actually buried their dead with much waste of wealth and had been in the habit of mourning for them a long time. And seeing that he had no better arguments than the above, wherewith to controvert this opinion, we are almost tempted to conclude that not he, but the public were right in the matter.

After all, it cannot surprise us that Mih-tszĕ's teachings, grounded on so slender a philosophical basis and sustained by such feeble arguments, did not eradicate a custom so firmly rooted in Chinese social life since the dawn of ages, but lost their hold on the people for a time under the denunciations, more enthusiastic than convincing, of Mencius. Still there were weighty reasons to prop up his theories. In the first place, they were possessed of practical common sense, which may be pushed into the background for a while, but not for ever. On the other hand, Mih-tzĕ borrowed authority from Confucius, this idol of the nation having, as shown on pp. 662 *seq.*, likewise been imbued with Mihistic leanings. As a consequence, the school of Mih-tszĕ has ever had its votaries in all succeeding ages, and its tenets have, as the reader will see anon, even come

out in the end victorious in the struggle against burying wealth and treasures with the dead.

It appears that already during his life-time Mih-tszĕ could point to numerous partisans, as Mencius himself is recorded to have exclaimed: »The teachings of Yang Chu and Mih Tih fill the Empire.... »Whosoever can controvert these men is a disciple of the perfect » Sages.... The Mihists preach love equally to all men, but this is » abnegating the peculiar devotion due to a father; and to acknow- » ledge neither father nor king is to be in the state of a beast" [1]. A man who thus anathemized general love of mankind, simply from fear that man's particular devotion to his parents might suffer by it, could certainly not be lenient to children who derogated from his darling hiao in as much as they did not squander away their possessions on their parents' death on behalf of the manes. As this hiao has ever played the chief part in the ethics and moral philosophy of the nation, and Mencius, its great prophet, has exercised a sway over the minds of the people almost as powerful as that of Confucius himself, we have the clue in hand why Mih-tszĕ's doctrines, once having been held up to the nation's scorn by him as inconsistent with the holiest duty of man, have ever since been stigmatized as wicked and heterodox. Down to this day, most well-bred scholars scornfully disdain to cast a look into his writings; and that a part of them has escaped perdition may be regarded as pure accident.

In Mencius' works we read: »The Mihist I Chi sought through » Sü Pih to interview Mencius, but Mencius answered: 'I have been » informed that he is a Mihist. Now Mih-tszĕ holds that, in regu- » lating funeral matters, bare simplicity is the right principle that » ought to prevail, and I-tszĕ (I Chi) thinks to bring about a change » in the Empire by this doctrine; how comes it then that he him- » self considers this doctrine to be wrong and does not hold it in high » esteem? He has indeed buried his parents with an unsparing » hand, and thus served them in a way that he himself scornfully » condemns' " [2]. From this statement we may judge how heavily the

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[1] 楊朱墨翟之言盈天下。。。能言距楊翟者聖人之徒也。。。墨氏兼愛、是無父也、無父無君是禽獸也. The Works of Mencius, section 滕文公, II.

[2] 墨者夷之因徐辟而求見孟子。。。孟子曰、吾聞夷子墨者。墨之治喪也以薄爲其道也、夷子

duty of fitting out the graves sumptuously, and the aversion from burying the dead with unthriftiness, weighed upon the nation in those times, since even an ardent partisan of the school which revolted against such extravagance, indulged in it when his own parents were concerned. The tenets of Mencius on this head, which doubtless did much at the time to check the progress of the Mihist school, are summarized in this passage, still to be found in the work bearing his name: »The nourishment (of parents) when they »are alive does not suffice to attain to the great thing (the hiao); »but we attain to it only by the way in which we see them to »their graves" [1].

The struggle between the two schools did not abate in the epoch which immediately followed that in which Mencius and Mih-tszĕ lived, growing, however, weaker and weaker, as the party which preached prodigality lost ground. In the third century before our era we find amongst the opponents of the latter party the most remarkable and influential man of his time, Lü Puh-wei [2], the putative father of no less a personage than the famous monarch Shi Hwang, during whose minority he was the highest magnate, and who virtually founded the fortunes of the Tsʿin dynasty. In the *Lü-shi chʿun-tsʿiu* [3] or »Annals of Lü", either written by him or compiled under his direction, we find two sections, entitled respectively: »On economy in funeral matters" [4] and »On setting the dead at rest in the tomb" [5], in which bare simplicity in burials and funerals is energetically advocated; no new arguments, however, are adduced, except this one, viz. that richly equipped graves are often plundered by thieves and robbers. It deserves notice also that, side by side with both schools, there flourished a third, still more radical than the Mihist, which deemed it superfluous to dress, encoffin and bury the dead. As prominent figures of this school we have mentioned already Chwang-tszĕ, Yang Wang-sun, and Lu Chih (pages 305 *et sqq.*). To

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思以易天下、豈以爲非是而不貴也。然而夷子葬其親厚、則是以所賤事親也. The Works of Mencius, section 滕文公, I.

[1] 養生者不足以當大事、惟送死可以當大事. The Works of Mencius, section 離婁, II.

[2] 呂不韋. [3] 呂氏春秋.

[4] 節喪. [5] 安死.

these names may be added that of the learned Hwang-fu Mih, who has been mentioned on page 415, and who proves that the curious conceptions in question still held sway over superior minds in the third century. In his last will, which the Standard Histories of the dynasty under which he lived, have preserved from oblivion, we read: »I desire to be buried the same evening if I die in the » morning, and the next morning if I die in the evening. No » coffin or vault shall be used for me, no swathings be wound around » my body, nor am I to be washed, nor are new clothes to be made » for me. The use of any articles whatever for provisory burial » or for stuffing my mouth must be dispensed with. It is my special » desire to be laid in the pit quite naked, that my body may come » into immediate contact with the earth. When I have breathed my » last, place forthwith a piece of cloth of one width around my » body, and some old garments; then enwrap me in a coarse mat, » and bind up the two ends of this mat with hemp; place me upon » a bier, select an uncultivated plot of ground, there dig a pit of ten » feet in depth, fifteen long and six broad, and when this is ready, » carry the bier to the spot. This done, remove the bier, lower » my corpse into the pit, and do not have it followed therein by » any articles of daily use, except one copy of the Classic of Filial » Devotion, in token of my never having lost sight of the laws of » hiao. Let the earth come into immediate contact with the out- » side of my mat, the clay be made level with the soil around, » and the old grass-sods be replaced in their former position, so » that they may grow over the grave afresh; but do not plant any » trees on the spot. Thus may my flesh and bones become one with the » earth, and my volatile manes be blended with the primary etheric » principle: this is the highest ideal I aspire to' .... In the third » year of the T'ai khang period (A. D. 282) he died at the age » of sixty-eight, and Tung-ling, Fang-hwui and his other sons » executed these his behests" [1].

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[1] 吾欲朝死夕葬、夕死朝葬。不設棺椁、不加纏斂、不修沐浴、不造新服。殯唅之物一皆絶之。吾本欲露形入阬、以身親土。氣絶之後便卽時服幅巾故衣、以蘧蒢裹尸、麻約二頭、置尸牀上、擇不毛之地、穿坑、深十尺、長一丈五尺、廣六尺、阬訖舉牀就阬。去牀、下尸、平生之物皆無自隨、唯

During the Han dynasty, the principles of the school of economy in funeral matters had so far gained ground that even the highest classes were imbued with them, the Sons of Heaven and their kindred not excepted. Already the third sovereign of that House, Wen, who occupied the throne from 179 to 157 B. C., formally decreed that bare simplicity should be observed with regard to his funeral; which is, so far as we can trace, the first case of a monarch about whom a statement of this kind is on record. His last will, well worth reading, is preserved in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty [1] and in the Historical Records [2]; but it is not certain whether we have it there in its complete form, or in an abridged shape. According to this document, the chief motive which prompted the emperor to make such a disposition, was his conviction that he was far from having bestowed sufficient blessings upon his people to entitle him to much waste of wealth and burdensome mourning. As shown already on pages 573 and 628, he considerably curtailed by his last will the mourning which had been in vogue for emperors up to that date. But his will, as we now possess it, is perfectly silent about the old custom of making imperial tombs real store-houses of valuables and requirements for daily life. Hence we need not feel any surprise on reading that his own grave hill, although fitted out less richly than those of other monarchs of his house, and although constructed in a natural knoll, instead of being raised artificially at an immense cost of labour (see page 423), was filled up with wealth enough to yield a large amount of plunder to robbers, four centuries afterwards. An account of the sad fate which then befell it, has been given on pages 407 *seq.* There we have also stated that the Tu mausoleum was likewise equipped with what was called economy in those times. Hence we may suppose that the sovereign who was buried therein, namely Suen, who ruled from 73 to 48 before our era, was also an opponent of excessive waste of wealth in burying the dead.

齎孝經一卷、示不忘孝道。蘧蒢之外便以親土、土與地平、還其故草、使生其上、無種樹木。形骸與后土同體、魂爽與元氣合靈、眞篤愛之至也。。。太康三年卒、時年六十八、予童靈方回等遵其遺命. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 51, ll. 9 and 10.

1 Chapter 4, ll. 18 and 19.

2 Chapter 10, ll. 17 and 18.

That Suen's successor, Yuen, was imbued with the same spirit, is manifest from the fact, stated on page 428, that he forbade the erection of a walled town for the protection and defence of his burial place, and that, as annotated on pages 406 and 407, no carts, oxen, horses or other animals were buried in his crypt. As shown on page 409, it was also during his reign that a statesman, in a memorial to the Throne, was bold enough to remonstrate in strong terms against the extravagance with which the equipment of the grave of the emperor Wu had been conducted by his minister Hwoh Kwang.

Kwang Wu [1], the first monarch of the Later Han dynasty, fully embraced the views of the more enlightened among his ancestors. We read in the Standard History of his reign that Fan Hung [2], a certain grandee who died in the year 51 of our era, »left behind »a disposition to this effect that he must be committed to the earth »in a poor style and no outlay at all was to be made for him. »His coffin should be considered as a mere instrument to conceal »his body from view, it not being suitable to look upon his »remains, because, if in a state of decomposition, they would »shock the feelings of his filial sons; and he was to be placed »with his wife under one tumulus, but in a pit separate from »hers. His Majesty admired these dispositions so much that He had »a written copy thereof sent to all His officers, declaring: 'It is Our »will that even after Our reign is ended they shall serve as standard »models'. He gave ten million coins as a funeral present, and ten »thousand pieces of cloth; He conferred the posthumous title of »Reverend Prince upon the deceased, gave His seals, carts and »horses for the funeral, and attended it Himself in person" [3]. On page 434 the reader has seen that Kwang Wu also ordered that his own mausoleum should cover only a relatively small plot of ground. We may add that he is the first emperor on record who tried to induce his people by a formal edict to practise economy in burying the dead. To judge from the shape in which we

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[1] 光武. [2] 樊宏.

[3] 遺勅薄葬、一無所用。以爲棺柩一藏、不宜復見、如有腐敗傷孝子之心、使與夫人同墳異藏。帝善其令、以書示百官、因曰、吾萬歲之後欲以爲式。賻錢千萬、布萬匹、謚曰恭侯、贈以印綬車駕、親送葬. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 62, l. 3.

possess this edict in the Histories [1], it was no more than a pathetic admonition of some dozen words, which we may suppose exercised the same amount of influence upon the nation as imperial decrees in China generally do; that is to say, it had no practical effect.

Kwang Wu's son and successor, Ming [2], inherited his father's views on the subject, for he ordered his mandarins in A. D. 69 to prohibit expensive burials [3]. Still another emperor of the same family, viz. Ngan [4], shared his views and trod in his footsteps, it being on record that in A. D. 114 he ordered all the old rescripts, bearing on the subject, to be promulgated afresh [5].

Apart from Liang Shang, who, as shown on page 411, energetically protested against being buried in an expensive style, the special advocate for bare simplicity in burials was Wang Hu, the same man who, as our readers know from pages 310 *et sqq.*, raised his voice against the prodigality which people in his time were wont to indulge in procuring expensive coffins for the dead. His philippic against expensive burials sheds so much light upon the customs and ideas of his time, that it entitles us to place a translation thereof before our readers:

» In times of yore, people buried their dead in graves; but these » were not high. When Confucius had lost his mother, her tumu- » lus was not more than four feet high; there came a shower, the » earth slipped away, and the disciples entreated the Sage to bestow » his care upon it; but he said, his eyes filling with tears: 'Estab- » lished usage prescribes no repair of tombs' [6]. And when (his son) » Li died, he was buried in a coffin only, and not in a vault [7]. » Neither pearls, nor other precious substances were interred with » the emperor Wen, when he was committed to the earth in the » Mang-tang mountain, nor with Ming, when he was buried in » Loh-yang. No temples were built upon their tombs, nor were grave » hills thrown up over them [8]; and yet, although their funeral monu-

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1 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 1, second part, l. 3.

2 明.

3 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 2, l. 14.

4 安.

5 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 5, l. 3.

6 Compare page 663.

7 See page 291.

8 This does not agree with what has been stated on page 434. From the *Ku kin chu* we learn that Ming had a grave mound of eighty feet. See the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch 16, l. 8.

» ments were thus low and level, the earth piled up over their » bodies formed a layer of sufficient height.

» Now-a-days, however, notable families in the capital and in- » fluential people in the provinces do not exert themselves to the » utmost for nourishing the living; but they make very much of » burying the dead. Some go so far as to use the wood of cedars » for coffins, of Rottlera trees, P'ien trees and Nan trees, carv- » ing guilded figures thereon, and inlaying it with jade; and when » people of the middle class build a tomb, or bury a dead body » in the yellow clay, they often hide therein at the same time costly » and precious things, human images, carts and horses. Not con- » tenting themselves with raising huge grave mounds and planting » pines and cypresses broadcast about the spot, they erect in those » grounds booths and sacrificial halls, thus indulging exceedingly the » waste of wealth and assuming the privileges which pertain to the » highest classes. And whenever a notable family which counts a high » officer among its members, or an old family in the provinces, has » a dead body to commit to the grave, the officers in the Metro- » polis, or the magistrates of the district concerned, have to des- » patch an official to offer presents of carts and horses, curtains » and canopies; all sorts of things required for the entertainment of » guests are then lent and borrowed, and the party concerned tries » to outvie all others in making a show. Such practices neither » further the worship of the dead, nor do they develop filial be- » haviour; they are simply detrimental to both the magistracy and » the people by giving rise to troubles and disturbances [1].

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[1] 古者墓而不崇。仲尼喪母塚高四尺、遇雨而墮、弟子請治之、夫子泣曰、禮不修墓。鯉死、有棺而無槨。文帝葬於芒碭、明帝葬於洛南、皆不藏珠寶。不造廟、不起山陵、陵墓雖卑而壘高。

今京師貴戚郡縣豪家生不極養、死乃崇喪。或至刻金鏤玉檽梓楩楠、良家造塋、黃壤致藏、多埋珍寶、偶人、車馬。造起大塚、廣種松栢、廬舍、祠堂、崇侈上僭。寵臣貴戚州郡世家每有喪葬、都官屬縣各當遣吏、齎奉車馬、帷帳、貸假待客之具、競爲華觀。此無益於奉終、無增於孝行、但作煩擾擾傷害吏民.

» As for the environs of Kao and Pih, where the graves of Wen » and Wu[1] are located, and the mounts of Nan-ch'ing, where the » tomb of Tseng Cheh (Tseng-tszĕ's father) lies: — the Prince of » Cheu (Wen's son and Wu's younger brother) was not devoid of » loyalty, nor was Tseng-tszĕ without filial devotion, and yet the » former was of opinion that exalting his sovereign and glorifying » his father did not consist in hoarding up precious things in their » graves, while the latter understood that to render illustrious a dead » man's name and shed glory upon his ancestry was not to be at- » tained by the use of carts and horses (at his funeral). Confucius » has said: 'Much wealth is injurious to virtue; it is a ruin to good » rules of conduct, and death to proper rites and ceremonies'[2].

» Ling, the ruler of Tsin (619—606 B. C.), imposed heavy taxes » upon his people, to collect the means for adorning the walls of » his palace with carvings, and the *Ch'un ts'iu* on this account » stigmatizes him as a bad ruler[3]. And the same work denounces » Hwa-yuen and Loh-lü as undutiful ministers for having buried » their ruler Wen in a rich style[4]; but ought not then inferior » officers, members of the gentry and commoners, who, by arrogantly » surpassing the chiefs of the state in prodigality, venture to trans- » gress the limits traced out by the principles of nature, to be much » more severely condemned by such verdicts? During the reign of the » emperor King (B. C. 156—141), Wei Puh-hai, prince of Yuen, » was dispossessed of his domains for having buried his dead in a » more pompous style than the laws allowed him to do; and under » the emperor Ming (A. D. 58—77) the prince of Ch'wang-yang, » a native of Sang, was punished by having his head shaved, be- » cause he had made a tumulus of larger dimensions than he was » entitled to. And yet the deviations from the standard principles, » of which the whole nation now renders itself guilty by prodigality,

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1 The founders of the Cheu dynasty. See page 666.

2 今按鄒畢之郊、文武之陵、南城之壘、曾晳之冢、周公非不忠也、曾子非不孝也、以爲褒君顯父不在聚財、揚名顯祖不在車馬。孔子曰、多貨財傷于德、弊則、沒禮.

3 This is *not* stated in the *Ch'un ts'iu*, but in the *Tso ch'wen*, under the heading: Second year of the Ruler Hwan's reign.

4 This Wen was a ruler of the state of Sung. Neither is this event mentioned in the *Ch'un ts'iu*, but in the *Tso ch'wen*, Second year of the Ruler Ch'ing's reign, *i. e.* B. C. 588. Compare page 725.

» and its arrogant waste of wealth, which even surpasses that of the » emperors, are still worse than the transgressions of those grandees.

» It is not by any means the character of the people which I blame » and criticize. It is the men I blame, who lead the people to this by » doing all that lies in their power to outvie others in converting good » rule into disorder, and as little as possible to improve the nation. » them. Any monarch who, at the head of the world, looks down upon » his subjects, can modify their manners and customs by instructing » them properly, and in this way create universal peace" [1].

In the third century of our era, when China was swayed successively by the dynasties of Wei, Wu, and Shuh, some monarchs continued to show themselves partisans of the doctrine that there should not be any great waste of wealth connected with burials. The famous and warlike Ts'ao Ts'ao [2], having assumed supreme authority and founded the dynasty of Wei, which is acknowledged by most Chinese historians to be the legitimate continuation of the imperial power, gave orders before his death, which took place in A. D. 220, that »all his subjects should lay off mourning as soon as » his funeral was over; that he himself should be dressed for the » tomb in everyday clothes, and no gold or jade, nor any other » precious thing should be concealed in his grave" [3]. Wen [4], his son and successor, faithfully followed his good example. His will stated that he was to be buried in a plot of waste ground, in order that later generations might be unable to find the spot; no articles of gold, silver, copper or iron were to be buried with him, but imitations of burnt clay were to be laid in his grave

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[1] 晉靈厚賦以彫墻、春秋以爲非君。華元樂呂厚葬文公、春秋以爲不臣、况於羣司士庶乃可僭侈主上過天道乎。景帝時原侯衛不害坐葬過律奪國、明帝時桑民樅陽侯坐塚過制髡削。今天下浮侈離本、僭奢過上亦已甚矣.

凡諸所譏皆非民性。而競務者亂政薄化使之然也。王者統世觀民設教乃能變風易俗、以致太平. *Ts'ien fu lun*, chapter 3, § 12.

[2] 曹操.

[3] 葬畢皆除服、斂以時服、無藏金玉珍寶. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms; Memoirs of Wei, chapter 1, l. 44.

[4] 文.

instead thereof; neither might jade, nor pearls be put into his mouth, nor his body be dressed in costly garments. Apart from the common-place arguments that Yao and Shun had been interred in graves of the simplest description, his principal reasons were that, since the highest antiquity, no tomb had ever escaped the hands of robbers, and that the richly equipped mausolea of the Han dynasty had fallen a prey to such violation even before the dynasty was dethroned [1]. This was indeed true: — the Vermilion Eyebrow insurgents had ransacked the mausoleum of Wu, as stated on page 408, and a spoliation on a much larger scale had taken place in A. D. 190. In this year, the generalissimo Tung Choh [2], who wielded supreme power in the name of the youthful emperor Hien [3], transferred the Court from Loh-yang to Ch'ang-ngan, hoping thus to secure the Imperial family from the hosts of rebels that openly stood in arms against his authority. By his orders, Loh-yang was given to the flames and destroyed; moreover, »he ordered Lü Pu »to force open the imperial mausolea, as also the tombs of the »nobles, from the highest to the lowest, and he appropriated the »valuables hoarded up therein" [4].

Shih Pao [5], a magnate of high rank, died in A. D. 272, and was presented by the Son of Heaven with a coffin, grave clothes, money and other valuables, further with a retinue of attendants, and other requisites for a splendid funeral procession. Nevertheless, »he had made the following last dispositions: 'Yen-ling was con- »sidered by Confucius to be thoroughly versed in the rites, be- »cause he buried his dead in a plain style; but Hwa-yuen is de- »clared in the *Ch'un ts'iu* not to have been a dutiful minister, as »he committed his ruler to the earth with expenditure of wealth [6]. »Seeing such a spirit betrayed by the enlightened principles of the »ancients, it behoves us henceforth to dress the dead in everyday »garments, without using any layers; nor ought we to place rice »or valuables in their mouths. Such things are done to please the »stupid mob. Neither should we use bed-curtains, nor implements

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1 *Op. cit.*, chapter 2, ll. 20 *seq.*

2 董卓.

3 獻.

4 又使呂布發諸帝陵及公卿已下冢墓、收其珍寶. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 102, l. 8. The matter is recorded also in the Memoirs of Wei, chapter 6, l. 5.

5 石苞.

6 See page 663, and page 691.

» for the manes. After the coffin is firmly fixed in the earth, clay » must be placed over it till the pit is full; but no tumulus may » be raised over it under any pretext whatever, nor trees be planted » on the spot'" [1].

Exactly ninety years later, »when the emperor Muh died, it was » the intention to place precious things and implements in his grave; » but (Kiang) Yiu entered a protest, couched in the following » terms: 'Ere now, the harem of Khang, (Muh's predecessor on the » throne), has commenced using precious swords and golden shoes » for the tombs. Doubtless this proves unselfishness on the part » of the imperial consorts, but it is positively contrary to the de- » ceased's own will, and against the rescripts of a whole series of » dynasties. There exists a tendency to consider such modern heter- » odox practices as a legacy of the ancients; but I humbly insist » upon the will of our deceased monarch being done, and upon » the two sorts of articles (viz. valuables and implements) not being » used in this case'. The memorialist was honoured with a written » reply, stating that his request would be granted" [2].

That in ensuing ages the strife of reaction against expensive funerals was no battling with wind-mills, may be inferred from the following episode, recorded as an historical fact by Ma Twan-lin. »Ch'ing-hi, crown-prince of the Ts'i dynasty, buried the emperor » Shen Wu on the western bank of the Chang (A. D. 547). He » had the mount Ku in Ch'ing-ngan (in Honan province) carefully » cut out; in a Buddha-pate apartment(?), made in a cave in the » rocks, another cave was constructed, and the encoffined body » being deposited therein, the entrance was stopped up. All the » workmen were then put to death; but when the Ts'i dynasty

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[1] 苞豫爲終制曰、延陵薄葬、孔子以爲達禮、華元厚葬、春秋以爲不臣。古之明義也、自今死亡者皆斂以時服、不得兼重、又不得飯唅。爲愚俗所爲。又不得設牀帳明器也。定窆之後復土滿坎、一不得起墳種樹. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 33, l. 17.

[2] 穆帝崩、山林將用寶器、[江]逌諫曰、昔康皇帝亡宮始用寶劍金鳥。此蓋太妃罔已之情、實違先旨累世之法。今外欲以爲故事、臣請述先旨、停此二物。書奏從之. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 83, l. 11.

» was overthrown (thirty years afterwards), a son of one of the » victims, acquainted with the spot, broke open the rock, laid » hold of the gold which was deposited therein, and fled" [1].

Although the persistency with which the higher and better classes of the nation clung to the time-hallowed custom of burying wealth or costly articles with the dead, grew considerably weaker under the constant blows dealt out by the party of economy and the frequent denunciations of emperors, still even during the T'ang dynasty the government found it necessary to take official measures against it. We read *e. g.* that Kao Tsung, the third emperor, »in order to » bring about a retrenchment of expenditure after the famine which » had visited the country for a series of years, sent an order of the » following tenor to Li I-ch'en, (since A. D. 682) governor of Yung- » cheu: 'Our subjects among the common people, the tradesmen, » and the masses in general vie with each other in burying their » dead so opulently, that they exceed the rules laid down by the » established rites. Let the chieftains of the several districts in Yung- » cheu take measures all around against such extravagance, and » do you yourself severely counteract them, lest they be indulged » in again'" [2]. It deserves notice that Kao Tsung's mother, the empress Wen-teh [3], had ordained during her life »not to be buried » in a rich style, because she had done no good to her contempo- » raries; that her grave should be left without a tumulus, and » merely be constructed in such wise as best suited the shape and » situation of the mountains; that no coffin or vault should be » used for her; that the implements for her manes should be of » burnt clay and wood, and her funeral be conducted with re- » trenchment of outlay" [4]. »In the twenty-ninth year of the Khai

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[1] 齊世子澄虛葬神武於漳水之西。潛鑿成安鼓山、石窟佛頂之旁爲穴、納其柩而塞之。殺其羣匠、及齊之亡也一匠之子知之、發石、取金而逃. *Wen hien t'ung khao*, chapter 125, l. 12.

[2] 高宗以頻年飢儉、召雍州長史李義琛謂曰、庶人之徒商賈雜類競爲厚葬違越禮度。雍州列郡之首四方取則、卿爲嚴禁、勿復使然也. *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 11.

[3] 文德.

[4] 妾生無益於時、死不可以厚葬、願因山爲壠、

» yuen period (A. D. 741) it was stated by Imperial rescript that, » whereas the spirit of economy in seeing the dead to the tomb » had been much appreciated in ancient times, the implements for » the manes, the surface of grave grounds, etc. were now reduced » within figures smaller than those which had been in vogue of old. » For officers of the first, second and third class, the implements for » the manes, which had been hitherto used for them to a number » of ninety, seventy and forty articles respectively, were reduced to » seventy, forty and twenty; and for the common people, for whom » they had not been fixed by rescripts hitherto, the number was » limited to fifteen. All such implements were to be made of plain » stoneware or burnt clay, and might not be of wood, gold, silver, » copper or thin. No silk gauze, embroidery or dyed stuffs might » be used for clothes; neither buildings, nor structures might be » made on a large scale in the sepulchral grounds, nor a large » number of (stone) attendants be arrayed there"....[1].

Even three centuries later, the custom of burying considerable amounts of valuables in graves had not died out. »In the first » year of the Yuen fu period (A. D. 1098), Cheu Shang (a grandee » of very high position) memorialized the Throne as follows: » 'Nothing but earthen and metal articles, clothes and ornaments » used to be employed for the mausolea of the Imperial ancestry, » both pearls and jade being excluded, simplicity having been cult- » ivated to serve as a lesson to mankind. But since the inauguration » of the (Yung)-yü mausoleum (of the late Emperor) up to that » of the temple for the worship of the soul of the (last) Empress » Suen-jen, gifts of gold and pearls have come into vogue again. I » hope that these valuables may be stored up in the King-ling » hall, in obedience to the lessons left by former monarchs'. Upon

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無起墳、無用棺槨、器以瓦木、約費送終. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 76, l 5.

[1] 開元二十九年敕、古之送終所尚乎儉、其明器墓田等令於舊數內減。三品以上明器先是九十事減至七十事、七十事減至四十事、四十事減至二十事、庶人先無文限、十五事。皆以素瓦爲之、不得用木及金銀銅錫。其衣不得用羅繡畫、其園宅不得廣作院宇、多列侍從. The *T'ung tien*, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 禮儀, chapter 56.

» this, the Emperor ordered the things to be deposited in the fung-» chin treasuries" [1]. In proof of the point in question, the following episode referring to the same century also deserves to be quoted. » The *Wen kien luh* of Chao Kai narrates that, during the Sung » dynasty, the Chamberlain Chang Khi left a disposition at his » death, to the effect that he was to be buried in rich style, and » that the minister Ngan Shu ordained in his will that he was to » be buried in a plain way. Both magnates, interred in Yang-tih, » were simultaneously unearthed by robbers in the Yuen yiu » period (A. D. 1086—1093). The Chamberlain's grave being stowed » full with gold, jade and costly pearls, the robbers, over-contented » with their booty, did not retire before having placed themselves in » a file close in front of the coffin, to make courtesies. But the grave » of the other grandee contained only some ten earthenware imple-» ments. Enraged because this did not repay their labour, the » robbers cleft open the coffin, in order to steal the gold belt; but » finding this was of wood, they grasped their axes and chopped » the corpse to pieces. The rich burial thus warded off calamities » from the dead, but the poor burial attracted them. Therefore, » the argumentation of Yang Wang-sun [2] contains some gaps" [3].

It may be noted also that, about a century later, Chu Hi deemed it necessary to insert a clause in his Rituals for Family Life to this effect that, though some pieces of silk ought to be buried with the dead in obedience to the precedent set by the *Li ki* and the *I li* (see page 391), »for the rest no articles of gold or jade, nor any » valuable trinkets were to be placed in the graves as a store for

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[1] 元符初周常疏言、祖宗諸陵器物止用塗金服飾、又無珠玉、蓋務在質素昭示訓戒。自[永]裕陵至宣仁后寢宮乃施金珠。願收貯景靈殿、以遵遺訓。詔置之奉宸庫. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 356, l. 22.

2 Compare pages 306 *et sqq.*

[3] 趙槩聞見錄、宋張侍中耆遺言厚葬、晏丞相殊遺言薄葬。二公俱在陽翟、元祐中同爲盜所發。侍中壙金玉犀珠充塞、盜所得已不勝慰下、近其棺皆列拜而去。丞相壙中但瓦器數十。盜怒不酬勞、斷棺取金帶、帶亦木也、遂以斧碎其骨。厚葬免禍、薄葬致禍。楊王孫之計疏也矣. *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 23.

» the deceased" [1]. The Tatar dynasty of Liao, which exercised sway over a part of the northern provinces in the tenth and eleventh centuries, likewise had among its monarchs one who considered it his duty to forbid the burial of precious articles in the tombs. The Official Annals of this House state that »in the tenth year of the »T'ung hwo period (A. D. 992) the killing of horses for funeral »and burial rites was interdicted, as also the putting into the tombs »of coats of mail, helmets, and articles and trinkets of gold and »silver" [2].

The Imperial House of Ming imitated the T'ang dynasty in restricting by official rescripts the quantity of the articles that might be buried with the dead. But it went further, even prescribing the sorts of things the equipment of the dead was to be composed of. In 1372 it was decreed by the first monarch of the dynasty that officers of the three highest classes might be dressed in three suits of body clothes, those of the fourth and fifth class in two suits, and those of the sixth and still lower classes in only one suit, and that they all might have on, besides, one suit of official garments and ten suits of everyday clothes, and be covered with ten shrouds. Members of the two highest classes of nobility might have in their tombs six shah [3] and ninety implements for the manes, officers of the two highest degrees four shah and eighty implements, those of the third degree four shah and seventy implements. For the fourth and fifth degree the ciphers were fixed at seventy-two and sixty-two; to the sixth and seventh degree no shah, but thirty implements were allowed, and to the two lowest degrees twenty. It was expressly decreed on the same occasion that the ninety implements should be the same as those that had been granted by the emperor in 1369 — the year after the official commencement of his reign — to Shang Yü-ch'un [4], one of the most deserving military commanders, who was then buried near Nanking, in the Chung mountains [5]. We find those articles summed up in the Record of Rites of the History of the Ming dynasty. As it may interest our readers to know something about the lumber

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[1] 其餘金玉寶玩並不得入壙、爲亡者之累.

[2] 統和十年禁喪葬禮殺馬及藏甲冑金銀器玩. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 13, l. 3.

[3] See pages 184 *et sqq.*

[4] 常遇春.

[5] 鍾山.

which used to be put in the graves of high grandees during the Ming epoch, we insert a reproduction of the list:

Two cymbals, four drums, two red flags, two musquito-flappers. One canopy of red silk, one saddle, one basket, two bows and three arrows. One furnace-kettle and a furnace, both of wood. A water-pitcher, a coat of mail, a helmet, a saucer with a stand, a laddle, a pot or vase, an earthen wine-pot, a spittoon, a water-basin. An incense-burner, two candle-sticks, an incense-box, a spoon for scooping up incense-ashes, two small staves to remove the handles of burnt-up incense-sticks from the ashes, and a tube to keep that spoon and those staves in. A tea-cup, a tea-saucer, two chopsticks, two spoons, and a tube for those chopsticks and spoons. Two wooden bowls, twelve wooden platters and two belt-pockets, encased in tin. One sword, one weapon of ivory, two standing cucumbers (a sort of weapon) encased in metal, two kwuh-t^{c}o [1], two halberds, and two hiang-tsieh [2]. A chair, a foot-stool, a trestle-shaped bench, six tan-ma [3]. A spear, a sword, an axe and a cross-bow. A dinner table, a couch, a screen, a staff, a chest, a bed, a table to burn incense upon, two benches — all of wood. Sixteen musicians, twenty-four armed life-guards, six bearers, ten female attendants; the spirits known as the Azure Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Bird, and the Black Warrior [4]; the two Spirits of the Doorway, and ten warriors — all made of wood and one foot high. Various things, six shah, one signet ot jade, a basket, a trunk, a clothes-horse, a lapelled gown, a bag of leather, two baskets, two hampers, two pots for gruel, one oil-can, a gauze safe, a summer-curtain, three pieces of blue silk and two of red silk, each eighteen feet long [5].

These rules, enacted for the nobility and the mandarinate, were not, however, declared valid for the common people. They, it was decreed in 1372, might dress their dead in no more than one suit, consisting of a long gown, one girdle, one pair of shoes, and a skirt, coat, trousers and stockings such as they had been wont to

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1 骨朶 Bone fruits? A sort of weapon.

2 響節. We do not know what kind of thing is meant by this word. Sonorous pieces of bamboo, perhaps?

3 誕馬. Probably a kind of seat or trestle.

4 Compare herewith what has been said on page 317.

5 All the above particulars are taken from the History of the Ming Dynasty, chapter 60, ll. 15 *et seq.*

wear in ordinary life. Moreover, no more than one kind of implements might be used for their manes[1].

As shown on pages 339 *seq.*, the dynasty at present seated on the Chinese throne has laid down in its *T'ung li* some rules for the garments in which servants of the State ought to be dressed for the tomb. No regular rescripts are found, however, in that Codex concerning the quantity or quality of other articles to be buried with the dead. In the rules it gives for the preparation of the graves of grandees and commoners, it barely mentions »implements for the manes" by name, adding in a note that, »in regard »of such implements, which are sometimes made of wet clay, and »in other instances of bamboo, wood or paper, the prevailing cus»toms may be followed in any case of death"[2]. All this suggests that legislators deem the matter to have become of too little importance to claim their attention, burying objects of value with the dead having almost entirely ceased as a custom, and no longer entailing such an alarming waste of wealth as to require their interference. In fact, in that part of the Empire where we made our studies in Chinese social life, people no longer trouble their minds about furnishing the graves with valuables or requisites of life, with the exception of such small articles and trifles as we have mentioned on pages 92 and 93. They sacrifice, in addition thereto, some things which the dead man was wont to use regularly, such as his last clothes, his bed with its appurtenances, his lamp, stoneware, tobacco-pipes, etc., by throwing them away or giving them away, as stated on pages 69 and 97. Nevertheless, Mencius's doctrine, that the hiao is especially evident from the way in which the dead are seen to the tomb (page 685) is literally conformed to by them, much wealth being spent upon funeral processions. Pompous and long corteges of death have in their opinion a threefold advantage. First of all, a dead man who is seen out of this world with show, rises higher in the estimation of the public, so that children who bury their parents opulently make sure of fulfilling a sacred duty imposed upon mankind by both ancient and modern moral law, viz. that of »glorifying and exalting their ancestry"[3]. In the second place, such burials cause the offspring to enjoy the satisfaction that everybody will

1 Chapter 60, ll. 21 *seq.*

2 明器或埏土或以竹木及紙爲之、各從其俗. Chapter 52, l. 12.

3 顯祖.

praise their filial conduct in lofty strains, and sink down in silent admiration before the eminent social position which permits them to afford such outlay. And, last not least, such good children escape the risk of violating an ancient rescript which forbids men to mourn for their dead in silence. It is namely recorded in the *Li ki* (chapter 10, l. 15) that Tseng-tszĕ, when blaming Tszĕ-hia for having wept so bitterly at the loss of his son as to cause the loss of his eyesight (see page 258), also said to him: » When you mourned » for your parents, you did it in such a way that the people heard » nothing of it: this was your second offence" [1].

The rich equipment of the dead in their graves has suffered the least decline in the dressing. As shown in our dissertation on grave clothes (pages 46 *et sqq.*), expensive silk garments are still lavishly used at Amoy for dressing the dead of both sexes among the well-to-do. In cases of females especially, the ladies are bent on adorning the corpse with jewels, pearls, hair-pins, rings, anklets, bracelets and amulets of costly metal, and all sorts of valuable trinkets. Many women of wealthy families go so far as to lay up for themselves a whole collection of such body ornaments, strictly adjuring their children to fit out their bodies therewith before sending them away to the tomb. It also very often occurs at the death of a woman that members of her father's clan interfere, in order to compel her husband and children to fit out her body with a large quantity of ornaments and precious clothes. They would, no doubt, not display so much activity, if some of the deceased's property could fall to their share; but law and custom forbid any goods passing over into the possession of another clan by inheritance. Their intervention often leads to unedifying family scenes. Not confining themselves to vociferating, yelling, and fulminating threats against the widower and his children if the latter do not forthwith comply with their demands, they come to blows, or accuse the mourners of having poisoned or murdered the deceased for the purpose of obtaining possession of her private effects, threatening to denounce them to the authorities. Cases have come under our notice of their having run out of doors with the coffin-lid, which they detained until full satisfaction was given them. Such things occur more especially when the bereaved family is less numerous or less influential than the clan in which the deceased woman was born, in which case the quarrel

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[1] 喪爾親、使民未有聞焉、爾罪二也. Section 檀弓, I, 2.

always ends in their having to acquiesce in the demands of the stronger party.

It is not difficult to understand why a sumptuous dressing of the dead has outlived all other forms of equipping them richly in their graves. In the first place, the ancient belief of the people in the co-habitation of body and soul after death has never waned, and thus the conviction that the body ought to be dressed in a way worthy of the manes, continues. Besides, the same belief must, since the dawn of time, have caused every deceased body with the soul that had dwelt therein to be continuously blended together in the memory of the surviving relatives, who have consequently ever figured to themselves the soul in the shape of the corpse in the grave, and in the same dress [1]. With such ideas but one step was wanting to lead men to the custom of clothing the dead in such good and costly attire as their souls were thought to require in the next life. Hence the custom, prevalent in ancient China, of dressing the dead in accordance with their rank and position. Hence the fact, that dressing them thus is still officially prescribed by the present dynasty in the *Ta Ts'ing t'ung li* (see p. 339); hence also the fear, expressed by Khi Heu, that his friend Yang Wang-sun would appear naked before his ancestors if he were buried without clothes (see page 307), and the aversion manifested by the present Amoy people against burying their dead in shoes with leather soles, lest the soul should have to suffer for it in the next world (see page 66). Among the same category of conceptions and usages we may place this, viz. at Amoy, persons who commit suicide, generally dress themselves in their best clothes before taking the fatal step which conducts to the region of shades. The author of this work remembers that in 1886 a youth of loose morals, who had lost his heart to a young courtesan in that town when his parents had decided upon his marrying a girl of respectable family, was found dead in his sweetheart's chamber by the side of her corpse: — they had poisoned themselves with opium pills, after having properly washed, combed their hair and donned their best attire. In the Memoirs of Amoy [2], a work abounding with valuable information about that town and the island on which it is situated, we read: »On the Tiger-head mountain there is a »certain Tomb of the Three Genii. Formerly there lived a wo-

1 Compare herewith what has been stated on page 355.

2 厦門志.

» man, who cherished an ardent devotion for her husband. This » man having ruined his family by gambling, she began to fear » he would sell her. Therefore, having sold her furniture a few » days before, to pay off her debts with the proceeds, *she sewed* » *clothes and shoes for herself*, jumped into the sea together with » her son, and perished. Her husband being apprized of her » fate, he too cast himself into the billows. The next day the » bodies rose to the surface, and her apparel was found to » have retained its original condition. Their fellow villagers, de- » ploring their sad lot, buried them in the said Tomb of the Three » Genii" [1].

Nevertheless, dressing the dead richly for the grave is considerably on the wane. In our First Volume (pages 46 and 65) we have stated that grave garments are often sewed very carelessly and made of very poor material, especially among the indigent class, who are only anxious to comply with the time-honoured custom of sending their dead into the next life with a great number of suits on. Matters have arrived at this pitch that, at Amoy, the use of precious grave garments has become matter of public derision, which is vented in the following popular quatrain:

Hok-kièn sa^{m} hāng ch^{c}i: *Tiú-toān kah sí-si,*
Boē ts^{c}ù kè lí-jî, *Tsí pīng lâi ch^{c}ī ti* [2]:

» The Fuhkienese show their silliness in three ways:
» They even sell their house when they marry out a daughter [3],
» They dress dead bodies in silk and satin,
» And cook their rice for the pigs" [4].

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[1] 三仙墓在虎頭山。昔有某烈婦。以夫賭蕩傾家、恐其賣已。先數日將家具賣、償素所借貸者、自縫其衣履、與子投海而死。夫知之、亦投海。越日浮屍水面、裝束如故。鄉里憐之、埋於此名三仙墓. Chapter 2.

[2] 福建三項痴　　綢緞甲死屍
賣厝嫁女兒　　煮飯來飼猪.

3 That is to say, parents celebrate such a marriage with so much superfluous pomp as almost entirely to ruin themselves.

4 It is customary in Fuhkien province to cook the rice — the principal food of the people — in a large quantity of water, then to scoop out the mallow grains with a

In the northern parts of the province of Fuhkien, a great part of the indigent class even go so far as to dress their dead in paper garments. As Doolittle says: —

» There are shops where ready-made grave clothes can be had. » These are patronised principally by the poor, who cannot afford » to buy good material and have it made up by tailors. What is » strange and singular about these establishments is, that the caps » and boots offered for sale, to be worn by the dead, are usually » made of paper, or of the very poorest silk or satin, and simply » pasted together. At a short distance, and unless closely examined, » they look quite well. The boots have soles nearly an inch thick, » which are made very white by a kind of wash. The coats, pan- » taloons, skirts, etc. are also sometimes pasted together, or, at » the best, are but slightly basted together" [1].

The conviction that expensive clothes and ornaments may offer a temptation to robbers and thieves, and thus entail desecration of the graves, has done much in deterring the well-to-do from dressing their dead in expensive attire. The penal laws threaten with very severe punishment those who violate the abodes of the dead [2]; and yet, such crimes are apparently of frequent occurrence, owing chiefly to the fact that graves are not concentrated in special burial grounds, well guarded and looked after, but are scattered about in the mountains, especially on unfrequented slopes and in out-of-the-way recesses. The same argument which, more than two thousand years ago, prompted Lü Puh-wei [3], and after him many other moral leaders and governors of the nation, to protest against rich equipment of the dead, is consequently valid at the present day. In the Memoirs of Amoy we read:

» The law against opening other people's graves contains some » explicit articles, according to which sundry punishments, such as » decapitation, strangulation and deportation for life, are to be » inflicted upon those who have opened a coffin and rendered visible » the corpse, accordingly as they have acted in the capacity of chief » culprits or accomplices [4]. Nevertheless, such crimes, unheard of

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laddle-like sieve, and to throw the water, in spite of the nutritious substance it still contains, to the pigs.

1 The Social Life of the Chinese, chapter VII.

2 See the articles quoted from the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* in Chapter XI of the next Volume.

3 See page 685.

4 For those articles, see the next Volume, Chapter XI.

» at Amoy in former times, have been on the increase since the last » twenty years. The damaged party generally remain unaware of » what has happened, until they are about to transfer the remains » to another grave, on which occasion they often perceive that the » bones of the skeleton have been disturbed and not a single hair- » pin, bracelet or ear-pendant has been left on the corpse. Sometimes » even the arms are cut off from newly buried corpses, if it is found » impossible to pull off the golden bracelets. In the main it is the » graves of women which are thus desecrated.

» This state of affairs owes its rise to the circumstance that the » people in the country of Amoy consider filial devotion to consist » in giving expensive burials to their nearest relatives. They will » not understand that by such burials they draw upon themselves » these calamities! When a young woman dies in her bloom, the » members of her father's clan in a hundred ways emphatically insist » upon her being buried by her family in a rich style; but this » very anxiety to prove their love for her is fatal to her. Formerly, » the Governor of the province of Kwangtung, Han Fung[1], decreed » that the well-to-do should bury their dead with hair-pins and » rings of fragrant wood, and that the poor people should use for » the purpose similar articles of other kinds of wood, and further, » that the caps used for the deceased should be of paper, orna- » mented with gold foil. Verily, if there were nothing in the graves » worth coveting, the bad practices in question must naturally » be discontinued. If we consider attentively the plain way in » which the ancients committed their dead to the earth, we shall » find that the implements which they set out for the manes, » were tolerably in accordance with the established rescripts of » the ritual; and, notwithstanding, the love they cherished for their » parents was so great as to extend everywhere. The *Li ki* only » says on this head: 'Beware, lest thou shouldst feel remorse » about what thou hast placed near the corpse and the coffin!'[2]. » Can it therefore be tolerated that the dressing of the dead is con- » ducted with so much waste of wealth as must lead to their being » cruelly laid bare? Let us hope that the people of this island will » take these our admonitions to heart!"[3]

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1 Probably in the beginning of this century.

2 See *ante*, page 390.

3 發塚律有明條、開棺見尸者分別首從、斬絞軍流定罪有差。厦門前此未聞也、二十年來此

Sacrificing valueless Counterfeits to the Dead.

Religious rites and usages are marked everywhere in this world by a strong tenacity of existence. A never ceasing progress and revolution of ideas may change the minds and habits of men, yet religious customs display a tendency to remain unaltered from age to age, any attempt at modifying them being stigmatized by their votaries as a sacrilegious attack on what has been considered sacred from time immemorial. The usages of the Chinese with regard to their dead are no exception to this rule. The reader has seen what a long and difficult war had to be waged in the heart of the nation against the wanton destruction of property in sending the dead into the unseen world. He will therefore not be surprised to find that the people, in their anxiety to defend this time-hallowed custom inch by inch, have been slowly reducing their grave offerings by making use of less costly articles, without, however, diminishing the quantity, and in course of time have given the preference to articles of no real value.

The ancient books afford sufficient proof that this process of substitution was at work already during the Cheu dynasty. On pages 394 and 395 we have stated that at that time, according to the *I li*, the

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風漸熾。受害者常不自知、每至遷葬時、始覺骨骸移置、釵釧鐲璫無一留存。或新死者臂上金環不可脫、斷其臂取之。大抵所盜女墳居多.

蓋厚地以厚葬其親爲孝。而不知適爲賈豎之端。或有少婦夭亡、外家百端需索勒令厚葬、將欲愛之適以害之。前廣東巡撫韓崶諭令、民間凡葬富者以香木鏤作釵環、貧者雜木、冠用紙胚飾以金箔。使其中無可欲、此風當不緝自弭。揆諸古人薄葬之義、明器之設頗與禮合、人子愛親無所不至。禮曰、附身附棺勿使有悔焉、而已。何忍侈其服御、致遭暴露之痛哉。願島中人則傚之. Chapter 15.

bows and arrows, interred with ordinary servants of the State, were of coarse make, and that those arrows were unfit for use, the feathers being too short. Besides, we read in the *Li ki* (chapter 11, l. 2): » Confucius said: 'If we were to deal with our dead as if life were » really extinct in them, we should be inhumane, and therefore we » ought not to do so; but if we were to treat them as if they were » quite alive, we should betray great ignorance, and therefore neither » may we do so. For this reason, the bamboo instruments are not » quite fit for use, those of stoneware cannot be well washed, nor » can those of wood be carved. The citherns and lutes are strung, but » not tuned; the mouth-organs and Pandean pipes are in good order, » but not attuned to the same key; there are also bells and sonorous » stones, but no stands to suspend them from. These things are called » instruments for the manes, because they are for the use of human » souls'" [1]. And a disciple of Confucius, »Chung Hien by name, » said to Tseng-tszĕ: 'During the rule of the House of Hia they » used implements for the manes, in order to show the people that » the dead have no consciousness. The people of the Yin dynasty » used sacrificial implements, to intimate to mankind that the dead » do possess consciousness. But under the present Cheu dynasty we » use both, to show the people that the matter is doubtful'. Upon » which Tseng-tszĕ replied: 'It is not so, it is not so! Implements » for the manes are implements fit for use among disembodied souls, » just as sacrificial implements are implements fit for use among » living men; how can you possibly infer from those facts that the » ancients treated their (deceased) parents as if they were really » devoid of life?'" [2]

As Confucius had sided with the party of economy in funeral

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[1] 孔子曰、之死而致死之、不仁而不可爲也、之死而致生之、不知而不可爲也。是故竹不成用、瓦不成味、木不成斲。琴瑟張而不平、竽笙備而不和、有鐘磬而無簨虡。其曰明器、神明之也.
Section 檀弓, I, 3.

[2] 仲憲言於曾子曰、夏后氏用明器、示民無知也。殷人用祭器、示民有知也。周人兼用之、示民疑也。曾子曰、其不然乎、其不然乎。夫明器鬼器也、祭器人器也、夫古之人胡爲而死其親乎.
The same chapter, l. 9.

matters (see page 662), he and his principal disciple acted quite logically in thus advocating burying articles which represented but little value. According to the *Li ki* (chapter 12, l. 48), » Confucius » also said: 'Those who make such implements for the manes of the » dead show they are acquainted with the right method of con- » ducting funeral rites; for those implements, though ready at hand, » are unfit for actual use. The carts of clay and straw images of » men and horses, which have been in vogue since ancient times, are » founded on the same principle as the implements for the manes' " [1]. From this extract we learn, that already in the sixth century before our era it was an established usage to replace the carts and horses, which, as stated on page 395, used to be buried with persons of royal blood, by valueless substitutes.

A considerable expansion was given to this process of substitution during the Han dynasty. We see that the rights of substitution were then fully acknowledged even by the supreme governors of the nation, for the then official rescripts concerning imperial burials prescribed the use of candlesticks of earthenware, useless short-feathered arrows, bells and sonorous stones without stands from which to suspend them, straw images of men and horses, stoves, kettles, rice-steamers, caldrons and tables of burnt clay (see pp. 402 and 403). This is perfectly in accordance with the fact, expounded in this chapter, that in those times many Sons of Heaven and many eminent men openly sided with the party of economy in funeral matters. It must also to some extent be ascribed to the influence of the *I li* and the *Li ki*, which, as stated on page 394 and in the citations on this and the foregoing page, prescribed the use of such objects; indeed, the recovery and study of these and other Classical works then occupied the entire attention of the literary world. But the burying of real and genuine objects of value was by no means entirely discontinued at that time. The extracts from some books, which have been reproduced on pages 402—413, sufficiently prove this. Not even the custom of placing horses and carts in princely mausolea was given up, instances of which are given on pages 405, 406 and 409. It prevailed to the very end of the dynasty, for it is recorded that » the emperor Ling, » when he buried his concubine Ma, placed in her tomb, under-

[1] 孔子謂、爲明器者知喪道矣、備物而不可用也。塗車芻靈自古有之、明器之道也. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

» neath her coffin, a team of four horses, in addition to a canopy » of blue feathers" [1].

But, just as the placing of victuals in the graves was at an early date changed into sacrifices of food outside the graves (see p. 384), so burying horses with the dead was also modified under the Han dynasty into presenting them to the dead without interring them, and valueless counterfeits were on such occasions substituted for the real animals. The Historical Records state: » In » the next year (103 B. C.), some officers memorialized the Throne, » stating that no horned cattle were presented on the five altars » of the most ancient sovereigns, which were situated in Yung (the » circuit embracing the Metropolis Ch'ang-ngan and surrounding » districts), so that all the sacrificial savours were not produced » there. Orders were now issued to the officers entrusted with the » sacrificial service, to deliver in the sacrificial bulls required for those » places of worship, as also the best of everything that was to be » had in articles of food, but to substitute for the colts wooden » images of horses, as real horses were to be sacrificed henceforth » only in the fifth month, or when the Emperor, while travelling » past the spot, should present a sacrifice there in his own person. » And with regard to the spirits of famous mountains and streams, » the sacrificial colts were always to be replaced by wooden images of » horses, except when the Emperor himself should cross the spot" [2].

The replacing of articles, buried with the dead, by valueless counterfeits apparently gained ground in the ages subsequent to the Han dynasty, the historical works of those times containing many instances of persons who gave explicit orders that they were to be interred with mere imitations in burnt clay or earthenware. An instance of this, in connection with the emperor Wen of the Wei dynasty, has been given on page 692; besides, we read that one P'ei Ts'ien [3] a grandee who died in A. D. 244, » prescribed in

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[1] 靈帝葬馬貴人、葬青羽蓋駟馬柩下. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 16, l. 10.

[2] 其明年有司上言、雍五畤無牢熟、具芬芳不備。乃令祠官進畤犢牢、具色食所勝、而以木禺馬代駒焉、獨五月嘗駒、行親郊用駒。及諸名山川用駒者悉以木禺馬代、行過乃用駒. Chapter 28, l. 36. See also the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 25 II, l. 4.

[3] 裴潛.

» his last will that he was to be buried with bare simplicity, and » that absolutely nothing should be deposited in his grave except a » set of a certain number of stoneware articles" [1]. The learned Sü Miao [2], »who died in A. D. 302, ordained in his testamentary » dispositions that there must be nothing used (for the disposal of » his body) but pieces of washed cloth, washed garments, a coffin » of elm wood, bricks of sundry kinds, an open cart for his » corpse, mats of water-rushes, and implements of earthenware or » burnt clay" [3]. We have seen on page 695 that even an empress of the great T'ang dynasty, viz. Wen-teh, consort of the second monarch of that House, formally declared it to be her wish that only things of burnt clay and wood should be laid in her grave. That the exclusive use of articles of clay for the grave was made obligatory by Imperial rescript under the same dynasty has been stated on page 696.

During the Sung dynasty, the principal moral leaders of the nation likewise held that it was the duty of every one to make use of counterfeits of »implements for the manes". We read in the Rituals for Family Life: »Wooden carts and horses; serv- » ants, followers and female attendants, all of them handing up » articles for use and food; they must resemble living beings, but » be of smaller dimensions. Thirty-seven are allowed for officers of » the fifth and sixth degree, twenty for those of the seventh and » eighth rank, and fifteen for such people as have not been raised » to the dignity of official servant of the dynasty ... Six pieces » of black silk and four of scarlet silk, each eighteen feet long, » are brought forward by the principal mourner and deposited » at the side of the coffin; he then knocks his head against the » ground twice, while those who stand around in their assigned » places all howl till their grief is up [4]. If the family is too poor » to afford the said quantity of silk, they may restrict it to one » piece of each colour. For the rest, no articles of gold or jade, » nor any valuable trinkets, may be placed in the grave pit with

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[1] 遺令儉葬、墓中惟置一坐瓦器數枚、其餘一無所設. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms, Memoirs of Wei, chapter 23, l. 18.

[2] 徐苗.

[3] 永寧二年卒、遺命濯巾、澣衣、榆棺、雜塼、露車載尸、葦席、瓦器而已. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 91, l. 7.

[4] Rescript based upon the *I li;* see page 391.

» the object of leaving them stored up therein for the deceased ... » When the pit is half filled up with earth, the articles destined for » the manes are placed inside it" [1].

From the foregoing we arrive at the conclusion that the more costly among the articles which were anciently buried with the dead, viz. horses, valuables and expensive garments, probably first of all ceased to be generally buried as »articles for the manes", and that cheap household furniture and the requisites of life, either in their genuine shape, or as valueless counterfeits, were used the longest. Indeed, as late as the fourteenth century, the quality and quantity of these things were officially fixed by the Ming dynasty (see pages 698 *seq.*). We have learned (page 709) that the burying of horses with monarchs and magnates was modified into sacrificing horses, or counterfeits thereof, on special altars devoted to the worship of their manes, or somewhere else, a practice which, as may be seen on page 698, was still in vogue under the Liao dynasty. This modification having begun during the Han dynasty, we may suppose that it attained its full development in the centuries succeeding that epoch. Now it was just at this period that a similar process in respect of valuables and precious clothing was gaining ground, that is to say, burying them with the dead died away as a custom, and valueless counterfeits, especially mock money, were sacrificed to the dead outside their graves.

This process went on, of course, slowly, insensibly almost. Hence it is impossible to fix the exact date at which people began thus to endow their deceased ancestors with mock riches. It is a positive fact that burying real money with the dead was still common during the Han dynasty, for we have learnt from Chapter IV how richly the tombs of sovereigns and magnates were then equipped, and what large sums of money were frequently bestowed by the emperors as funeral presents upon deceased statesmen of merit.

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[1] 刻木爲車馬、僕從侍女、各執奉養之物、象平生而小。准令五品六品三十事、七品八品二十事、非陞朝官十五事...玄六纁四、各長丈八尺、主人奉置柩旁、再拜稽顙、在位者皆器盡哀。家貧或不能具此、則玄纁各一可也。其餘金玉寶玩並不得入壙、爲亡者之累...實土及半乃藏明器.

This information renders it superfluous to quote direct evidence from the Standard Histories of that epoch, which tell us that, in the first century before our era, »some robbers among the people »dug out the money which was interred in the mausoleum park »of Hiao Wen" [1], who had reigned two centuries previously. Nor had this custom entirely slipped into abeyance in the ensuing ages, as the Histories tell us of one Wu Pao [2], a learned Taoist and Buddhist who died in the sixth century: »He always had a jar »with him. One day he said to his disciples: 'This evening I »must die. The thousand big coins which this jar contains must »serve me to clear my way through the Nine Streams (of the »Nether-world), and this wax taper must light my dead body of »seven feet'. When evening came, he breathed his last" [3].

The information which the native literature gives about the transformation of the custom of burying money and clothes with the dead into that of sacrificing mock money and mock clothes outside the tombs, is very scanty. In a biography of a certain Wang Yü [4], Grandmaster of Sacrifices and Censor under the emperors Huen Tsung and Suh Tsung [5] in the eighth century, we read: »His exor- »cisms and observances to ward off evil were, generally speaking, »of the same stamp as the practices of spiritist mediums. During »the Han dynasty and in subsequent times money had been placed »in the tombs at every burial, and in later ages the country people »had gradually replaced such money by paper in worshipping the »manes of the dead; and now Yü was the first to use it (in the »sacrifices intrusted to him)" [6]. This assertion has since been re-

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1 會人有盜發孝文園葬錢. Historical Records, chapter 122, l. 9; also the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 59, l. 6.

2 吳苞.

3 常以一壺自隨。一旦謂弟子曰、吾今夕當死。壺中大錢一千以通九泉之路、臘燭一挺以照七尺之尸。至夜而亡. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, chapter 76, l. 2.

4 王璵.

5 玄宗 and 肅宗.

6 有所禳祓大抵類巫覡。漢以來葬喪皆有葬錢、後世里俗稍以紙寓錢爲鬼事、至是璵乃用之. New Books of the Tang Dynasty, chapter 109, l. 13.

ceived as fully warranted historical truth by several writers of good authority, *e. g.* by Ch'en Yuen-tsing [1] of the Sung dynasty, author of the *Shi lin kwang ki* [2], and by Yeh N. N. [3], author of the *Ngai jih chai ts'ung ch'ao* [4], who lived towards the end of the same dynasty [5]; — it was also subscribed to by Wang Ying-lin [6], a scholar of high repute in the thirteenth century, in his *Kwun hioh ki wen* [7]. Chao Yih, the able author and critic mentioned on page 369, wrote in the last century: »Fung has averred in his *Wen* »*kien ki* that paper money has existed already since the dynasty »of Wei and that of Tsin (3rd. and 4th. centuries), and that at »the time in which he lived there was nobody who did not use »it, from the Imperial princes down to the petty officials and »commoners. He lived under Teh Tsung (A. D. 780—805) of the »T'ang dynasty, that is to say, not long after the Six Dynasties »(between the Han and the Sui), and what he saw with his own »eyes is certainly not unworthy of belief. Hence there is no reason »for doubting that paper money came into vogue during the dy»nasties of Wei and Tsin" [8].

Scholars who have discussed the subject are wont to refer to a work of a certain Hung Khing-shen [9], entitled *Tu shi pien ching* [10]: »Criticisms on the poetry of Tu", viz. of a famous Tu Fu [11] of the eighth century, it being therein stated that paper money »had been

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1 陳元靚.

2 事林廣記.

3 葉○○. His personal name is unknown.

4 愛日齋叢鈔.

5 See the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 神異, chapter 310.

6 王應麟.

7 困學紀聞. See the *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 30, l. 18.

8 封氏聞見記謂、紙錢魏晉以來已有之、今自王公至士庶無不用之。封演唐德宗時人、去六朝未遠、所見必非無據。則紙錢之起於魏晉無疑也. *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 30, l. 18.

9 洪慶善.

10 杜詩辨證.

11 杜甫.

» in use since Tung Hwun of the Ts'i dynasty (circâ A. D. 500). » This emperor being fond of indulging in artifices with regard to » ghosts and spirits, cut money out of paper with scissors, to use » it as a substitute for woven stuffs" [1]. Upon the trustworthiness of this statement we do not venture to pronounce an opinion, as there is not a single word on the subject to be found in the Authentic Histories of the House of Ts'i.

In the seventh century of our era, the paper money used in the worship of the dead had probably taken the shape which it possesses at the present day, that is to say, it consisted of paper sheets upon which tin-foil was pasted, and this was converted into mock gold by giving it a yellow colour (comp. pages 25 and 26). We venture to draw this conclusion from the *Fah yuen chu lin* [2] or »Forest of Pearls in the Garden of the Dharma", a very valuable account of the Buddhist religious system, which was published in that century. In one of the ghost stories it contains, we are told that a certain man who held intercourse with disembodied souls and derived considerable knowledge from them about the spirit-world, recounted: » Everything of which spirits avail themselves differs from » the things that are used by the living. Gold and silks alone can » be generally current among them, but are of special utility to » them if counterfeited. Hence we must make gold by daubing large » sheets of tin with yellow paint, and manufacture pieces of silk » stuff out of paper, such articles being more appreciated by them » than anything else" [3].

That the sacrificing of mock money and mock clothes to the dead had a hard struggle against orthodoxy, which, as a matter of course, obstinately refused approval of things unknown to the holy ancients, appears from the fact stated on page 712, that it lasted until the eighth century of our era before it was admitted, through the intermedium of Wang Yü, in the religious worship observed by the Court.

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[1] 起於齊東昏。好鬼神之術、剪紙爲錢、以代束帛. *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, *loc. cit.*; also the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 神異, chapter 310.

[2] 法苑珠林.

[3] 鬼所用物皆與人異。唯黃金及絹爲得通用、然亦不如假者。以黃色塗大錫作金、以紙爲絹帛、最爲貴上. Chapter 6, l. 18.

Cases are, moreover, quoted by Chinese authors of grandees who disdained using it at that time [1]. It is not improbable that the counterfeits were burned from the time they came into use, being thus sent to the manes through flame and smoke. This conclusion is naturally arrived at when we consider that real clothes and valuables were destroyed in this way even as late as the T'ang dynasty. It is namely recorded that during the reign of Huen Tsung, »in the second year of the Khai yuen period (A. D. 714), »embroidered stuffs, pearls and jade were burnt in the foremost »hall of the Imperial palace in the seventh month" [2], which season of the year has, since very early times, been devoted in China to the worship of disembodied souls in general. About a couple of centuries later, the emperor Chuh [3] of the Later Tsin dynasty »com- »mitted to the flames imperial robes and paper money, while sacri- »ficing on the Hien mausoleum at Nan-chwang on the day of »the full moon of the period of Cold Fare, in the eighth year of »his reign (A. D. 943)" [4].

The Confucian school of philosophy, which flourished during the Sung dynasty and has exercised a considerable influence over the minds of all succeeding generations, sanctioned the use of paper money in the worship of the dead. Concerning Shao Yung [5], better known by his other names Yao-fu [6] and Khang-tsieh [7], who lived in the eleventh century, we read: »Master Khang-tsieh performed »the sacrifices (to his ancestors) in spring and autumn with observ- »ance of both the ancient and modern ceremonial, inclusive of the »burning of paper money. Ch'ing I-ch'wen [8] felt amazed at it, »and asked him why he did so; whereupon he retorted: 'The »matter is based upon the same principle which underlies the use

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1 See *e. g.* the *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 30, l. 19.

2 開元二年七月焚錦繡珠玉于前殿. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 5, l. 8.

3 出.

4 八年寒食望祭顯陵于南莊、焚御衣紙錢. History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 9, l. 2.

5 邵雍.

6 堯夫.

7 康節.

8 A renowned contemporary of Shao Yung, known also by his other name Ch'ing I 程頤.

» of implements for the manes. If there were anything wrong in » it, would then filial sons and compassionate grandsons have recourse » to it to give vent to their feelings?' " [1] The ultra orthodox Chu Hi, however, was quite of another opinion. » Being asked what » he thought about burning material for clothing at sacrifices, he » answered: 'At sacrifices to celestial spirits such material may be » burnt; but when it is presented to human manes, it ought be » buried in the grave. Nor is there any documentary evidence » which justifies the conclusion that burning material for clothing » should form a necessary part of the ritual connected with do- » mestic sacrifices. If the custom in question were a good one, » and the vulgar method of setting fire to real clothes and things » of this sort were justified, then the people ought not only to burn » real clothing, but to fabricate all sorts of things to be burnt — » a proceeding which would have neither sense, nor meaning' .... » At each sacrifice he presented, the Master abstained from burn- » ing paper, and he never used material for clothing on such oc- » casions. Nor did he make use of mock paper money in his do- » mestic sacrifices" [2].

The great sway which Chu Hi's writings exercise over the nation even to this day, all scholars and literati swearing by him, has not proved sufficient to conjure away the general use of mock money and mock clothes in the worship of the dead. Rolls of dyed silk, being in reality nothing more than small, hollow cylinders of paper, covered over with a single sheet of the poorest and cheapest silk gauze, are burnt at every ancestral sacrifice of any importance; besides, tinned paper sheets of every kind, often folded in the shape of ingots, and also mere untinned sheets,

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[1] 康節先生春秋祭祀約古今禮行之、亦焚楮錢。程伊川怪問之、則曰、明器之義也。脫有一非、豈孝子慈孫之心乎. *Shao shi wen kien luh* 邵氏聞見錄, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 神異, chapter 310.

[2] 問祭祀焚幣如何、曰、祀天神則焚幣、祀人鬼則葬幣。人家祭祀之禮要焚幣亦無稽考處。若是、以尋常焚眞衣之類爲是、便不當只焚眞衣、著事事做去焚、但無意義...先生每祭不燒紙、亦不曾用帛。先生家祭享不用紙錢. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, *loc. cit.*

then, and on sundry other occasions during the disposal of the dead, are substituted for real silver and gold, bullion and hard cash, and set fire to in enormous quantities [1]. The produce of the labours of inestimable numbers of workmen is thus regularly destroyed, and a great part of the earnings of the people and the wealth of the nation cast into the flames. Such burnt sacrifices are especially numerous and bountiful during the great mass for the salvation of the soul, of which a description will be given in our Book on Buddhism. Apart from all this, large quantities of paper money, or the ashes thereof, are stowed away now-a-days in coffins or graves, as shown on pages 82 and 92 *seq.*, a fact which confirms the unanimous statement of Chinese writers of authority, that the use of mock money in the ancestral worship has its origin in the ancient custom of burying real money or bullion with the dead.

And, likewise in spite of Chu Hi's argument, counterfeits of all imaginable articles of furniture and things which may be useful in the next world, are burnt now-a-days in ancestral sacrifices of importance. In general they consist of small square sheets of cheap paper, upon which the articles are stamped by means of a piece of wood, rudely carved: houses, tables, chairs; implements for cooking, writing and the toilette; carts and horses, sedan-chairs, attendants and servants, slaves male and female, cattle, etc. etc. In many cases the counterfeits are made of thin bamboo splints and very bad and cheap paper of various colours, sometimes of the full natural size, but also much smaller, men and animals being often less in size than one's finger. Sedan-chairs and bearers of this description, as the reader knows from pages 28 and 98, are used in the disposal of the dead before the burial; they are evidently a faint survival of the conveyances and horses which were anciently buried in the tombs.

Whether such paper-and-bamboo dwelling houses represent a like survival, is questionable, as no real houses, so far as we know, were sent with the dead into the next life in ancient times. The sole passage referring to anything of the kind, which we have come across in Chinese books, is the following: »Ts'ui »Hung's Annals of the Thirty States [2] mention in their account of

1 See our First Volume, pages 25, 78, 126, 145, 226, etc.

2 Two works bearing this name, in thirty chapters and one hundred and two respectively, are mentioned in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 46, l. 26, and in the New Books of that House, chapter 58, l. 6, and said to have been written, the former by Siao Fang 蕭方, and the latter by Wu Min 武敏. It is

» Hia [1] that Puh, the father of Hoh-lien Ch'ang, having wandered to » the north as far as Khi-wu, there climbed a hillock, and sighingly » said: 'How splendid is the mountain-scenery here! Where it dis- » solves into the vast, watered plains, it girds a limpid stream. » I have visited many a country, but nowhere have I found such » beautiful scenery'. Ch'ang (his son), fulfilling the desire expressed » by Puh during his life, buried him to the west of the town, fifteen » miles from the walls. He erected a lodging house on the spot, » with the inscription: »Palace of T'ung-wan" [2] over the entrance, » decorated it with gold, silver, pearls and emeralds, and after the » burial set fire to it" [3].

The burning of counterfeits, after it had come into general practice, by no means did away with the older forms. Bonfires of genuine articles and valuables continued for a long time to hold a place side by side with bonfires of counterfeits. We read *e. g.* that at the demise of the emperor Shing Tsung [4] of the Liao dynasty (A. D. 1030), the departure of the cortege of death from the Palace was marked by a sacrifice, at which »they took clothes, » bows and arrows, saddles, bridles, pictures of horses, of camels, » life-guards and similar things, which were all committed to the

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probably to one of these works that the encyclopædist refers. But Ts'ui Hung, who lived in the sixth century of our era, wrote a dissertation on sixteen kingdoms which existed in the fourth and fifth century, entitled »Annals of the Sixteen States" 十六國春秋 (see the Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 67, l. 17, and the History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 44, l. 12). In this work, a copy of which is in our possession, the above episode does not occur in the section which treats of Hia. Without doubt we have here a good instance of the careless way in which Chinese encyclopædists, even the best, quote their authorities.

1 A petty state, existing in the beginning of the fifth century in the present province of Kansuh. Its two princes mentioned in the above extract, viz. Hoh-lien Puh-puh and Hoh-lien Ch'ang, were scions of the Hiung-nü tribe. A biography of Puh-puh, who died in A. D. 425, is to be found in chapter 130 of the Books of the Tsin Dynasty.

2 T'ung-wan was the name of Ch'ang's capital.

3 崔鴻三十國春秋夏錄曰、赫連昌父勃北游契吳、昇高而歎曰、美哉斯阜。臨廣澤而帶清流。吾行地多矣、未有若斯之美。昌以勃平昔之意也故葬勃于城西十五里。起行宮、模寫統萬宮殿、飾以金銀珠璣、葬訖焚之. The encyclopædia *Yuen kien lei han*, chapter 181, l. 11.

聖宗.

»flames" [1]. Before that time, the new emperor had, on visiting the place where the encoffined corpse was stored away awaiting burial, » reduced to ashes the bows and arrows which the deceased monarch » had been wont to handle himself" [2]; and on a similar occasion » he had the deceased's dresses and imperial trinkets and valuables » taken outside, and burnt" [3].

It would be a great mistake to suppose, that sending mock articles of paper to the next world through the agency of flames was ever considered in China as only an expression of the good will of the survivors to enrich the dead on yonder side of the grave. Numerous exhortations, addressed to the people in sundry books, never to neglect such sacrifices because they really do enrich the dead, point unmistakably to the contrary. Moreover, many legends occur in the books and are current in the mouths of the people, concerning human spirits which have begged paper money from the living, or have expressed their gratitude to those people who had generously endowed them with it. Further they contain stories of spirits who, assuming a visible shape, have spent money which turned into paper or ashes immediately afterwards. Instead of being considered as legendary, such tales are generally received by the people as records of actual events, about the truth of which not a shadow of doubt ever crosses their minds. It would be an easy task to place before our readers a choice selection of such tales, taken from the native books in our possession. Let one suffice, as characteristic of the rest:

» The *Mao t'ing khoh hwa* relates: — Sun Chi-wei, also named » T'ai ku, a member of the local gentry, was a denizen of Ku- » shan, which is situated in Mi-cheu (in the present province of » Szĕ-ch'wen), and a painter by profession. In the district of Tao- » kiang there lived a female medium between men and spirits, who » understood the art of prophecy about human affairs. Chi-wei, » who up to that date had felt much attracted by the strange and » marvellous, asked her what was the shape of disembodied human » spirits, as he desired to take advantage of this in connection with » a painting of his. The woman conjured up for him a ghost named

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1 乃以衣弓矢鞍勒、圖畫馬駝儀衛等物、皆燒之. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 50, l. 1.

2 焚先帝所御弓矢. The same work, chapter 18, l. 2.

3 出大行皇帝服御玩好焚之. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 3.

» Wang San-lang, who gave him every information on the point » in question. Chi-wei then said to this being: 'I now wish to reward » you; tell me what you desire to have'. 'I hope you will kindly » assist me with some hundreds of strings of thousands cash', » was the reply. Finding the other politely refused to give this sum, » the spectre continued: 'What I desire is no wordly goods made » of copper or iron, but treasures of paper', whereupon Chi-wei » promised him he would furnish them. 'When you set the money » on fire', added the ghost, 'you must not let it touch the ground, » but place it upon a layer of brambles and shrubs; and wherever » the fire has consumed it you must not stir the ashes, nor poke » therein, lest the cash be broken or pulverized; and so the money » will come into my possession in entire pieces'. The painter now » burnt some thousands of strings of one hundred sheets of paper » money, observing the indications he had received" [1].

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[1] 茅亭客話、孫處士名知微、字太古、眉州鼓山人也、工圖畫。導江縣有一女巫、能逆知人事。知微素尚奇異、嘗問其鬼神形狀、欲資其畫。女巫爲致一鬼曰王三郎、具告以鬼神形狀。知微曰、今欲酬君、君欲希我何物。應曰、望君濟我資錢數百千貫。知微辭之、應者曰、所求者非世間銅鐵爲者、乃楮貨耳、知微乃許之。應者曰、燒時勿使著地、可以薪草薦藉之、向一處以火爇不得攪剔、其錢則不破碎、一一可達也。遂依教燔紙錢數千百貫. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 神異, chapter 310.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCERNING THE SACRIFICE OF HUMAN BEINGS AT BURIALS, AND USAGES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

In continuation of the chapters on the custom of burying with the dead articles of value and their movable property, we have now to expatiate on the practice of placing their wives, concubines and slaves in their graves, these persons being also regarded as their property. Considering the great assiduity which the Chinese of all ages have displayed to benefit and enrich their ancestors in the next world, we can scarcely feel any surprise at finding that this practice has obtained amongst them since times of old; and it becomes the more explicable when we are reminded that it has prevailed, and still prevails among peoples in a low stage of culture, nearly all over the world.

Just as the burying with the dead of lifeless property, the immolation of living beings on their behalf doubtless dates in China from the darkest mist of ages. Yet the cases on record in the native books are of relatively modern date, which, we think, must be ascribed to the circumstance that in high antiquity they were so common, that it did not occur to the annalists and chroniclers to set down such everyday matters as anything remarkable. The oldest case on record we owe to the pen of Szĕ-ma Ts'ien. »In the twentieth year of his reign (B. C. 677) the ruler » Wu (of the state of Ts'in) died, and was interred at P'ing-yang [1], » in Yung. Then for the first time people were made to follow the » dead into the next world. The number of those who followed » the deceased was sixty-six" [2]. We must not, it is evident, take this expression »for the first time" in its literal meaning. It is indeed hardly admissible that such a barbarous practice could then have sprung up all of a sudden, without precedents to legalize it, or that it should have been inaugurated as a new custom by the immo-

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1 The present Fung-ts'iang 鳳翔, a department in the province of Shensi.

2 二十年武公卒、葬雍平陽。初以人從死。從死者六十六人. Historical Records, chapter 5, l. 8.

lation of so many victims. The passage more probably implies that Wu was the first sovereign *of his House* for whom victims were immolated, or the first sovereign for whom *so large a number of victims* were sent to the realms of Death. Indeed, if we peruse the historical treatise on the kingdom of Ts'in, from which it is drawn, we learn that Wu was the first monarch of significance who ruled that country, having greatly extended it by successful wars; all his predecessors on the throne had been mere ciphers, or princes of no repute at all, and it is natural therefore that he should be sent into the next world with exceptional wealth and attendance. Nor is mention made of human sacrifices at the burial of any of the three rulers who were seated on the throne after Wu, but they were also sovereigns of no significance; again, however, record of such sacrifices is made in the case of Muh, Wu's brother's son, whose reign, which lasted thirty-nine years, was also marked by a large conquest of territory. »In the thirty-ninth year of his » reign (619 B. C.) the ruler Muh died and was buried in Yung. » Those who followed the defunct to the next world were one » hundred and seventy-seven in number. Amongst them were three » exquisite ministers of Ts'in, members of the family Tszĕ-yü, named » Yen-sih, Chung-hang and Ch'en-hu. The people of Ts'in, deplor- » ing their fate, composed and sung The Lay of the Yellow » Birds" [1]. The *Shi king* has preserved it from perdition. »The » yellow birds, crowded together, perch upon the jujube trees. » Who is the man that follows our ruler Muh? It is Tszĕ-yü » Yen-sih, a model worth a hundred officers. At his descending into » the pit we are struck with dismay on beholding his anguish. » Thou Azure Heaven, they are slaughtering our exquisite man! If » he may be ransomed, a hundred of ours for his person!" [2]. Then follows a similar stanza for Chung-hang, and one for Ch'en-hu.

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[1] 三十九年繆公卒、葬雍。從死者百七十七人。秦之良臣子輿氏三人、名曰奄息、仲行、鍼虎、亦在從死之中。秦人哀之、爲作歌黃鳥之詩. Historical Records, chapter 5, ll. 16 and 17. This episode is recorded also in the *Tso ch'wen*, Seventh year of the Ruler Wen's reign.

[2] 交交黃鳥止于棘。誰從穆公。子車奄息、維此奄息百夫之特。臨其穴惴惴其慄。彼蒼者天、殲我良人。如可贖兮、人百其身. The Odes of Ts'in, section 黃鳥.

If we may believe Ying Shao [1], an author who in the second century of our era wrote the *Fung-suh t'ung i* (see page 218), the immolation of those three ministers was an act of voluntary self-sacrifice. »The ruler Muh of Ts'in", he writes somewhere, »having » assembled his ministers around him for a drinking party, said to » them: 'These pleasures we share in this life, but we must also » share our woes after death'. On this, Yen-sih, Chung-hang and » Ch'en-hu answered they would do so. And when the ruler had » breathed his last, they all followed him to the next world" [2]. In connection with this passage, attention must be called to the fact that the character 殉, which is used in the ancient writings to denote burying human beings with the dead, has in the *Shu king* [3] also the meaning of »to desire, to seek". Is this mere accident? Or does it confirm the belief that, in ancient China, to be buried with the dead was sought after as a favour? [4]

In the »Journal Asiatique" of 1843 Edouard Biot has set it forth as his opinion that the sacrificing of human lives to the manes of king Wu had been recently adopted from the Tatars. And Yen Ts'an [5], who lived during the Sung dynasty, avers that the state of Ts'in had brought with it the manners of the barbarous tribes among which its people had long dwelt [6]. It was, in fact, situated in the remote North-west of the Empire. But both suppositions are

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1 應劭.

2 秦穆公與群臣飲酒酣、公曰、生共此樂、死共此哀。於是奄息、仲行、鍼虎許諾。及公薨皆從死. The Khienlung edition of the Historical Records, chapter 5, l. 17.

3 Section 伊訓.

4 Herbert Spencer says with reference to the same custom: »The intensity of » the faith prompting such customs we shall the better conceive on finding proof » that the victims are often willing, and occasionally anxious, to die. Garcilasso says » that a dead Ynca's wives 'volunteered to be killed, and their number was often » such that the officers were obliged to interfere, saying that enough had gone at » present'; and according to Cieza, 'some of the women, in order that their faithful » service might be held in more esteem, finding that there was delay in completing » the tomb, would hang themselves up by their own hair, and so kill themselves'. » Similarly of the Chibchas, Simon tells us that with a corpse 'they interred the » wives and slaves who most wished it'. In Africa it is the same. Among the Yoru- » bans, at the funeral of a great man, not only are slaves slain, but 'many of his » friends swallow poison', and are entombed with him".... etc. The Principles of Sociology, chapter 14, § 104.

5 嚴粲. 6 Legge, The Chinese Classics, IV, prolegomena, page 141.

debatable, as there can be no doubt that the practice in question existed of old among the Chinese proper. It is difficult to believe that the people of Ts'in, which had, reached a rather advanced stage of culture, should have borrowed from tribes standing on a much lower level an institution which, if it were foreign to them, must have appeared extremely repulsive to them because of its ferocity. Grafting foreign manners and customs upon a people is generally a very difficult process, the more so when such manners and customs are revolting and detestable by their very savageness. If, besides, we consider that immolating living people at the death of persons of note obtains, or has obtained, in all parts of the world in the lower stages of culture, it is hardly imaginable that the Chinese, who have signalized themselves from the most ancient times by a fanatical care for their dead, should have formed an exception to the rule.

Indeed, their own books contain many passages which place it beyond all doubt that the practice was anciently quite indigenous in their country. Those which have come under our notice we will now place before our readers in chronological order, and then continue our research in the same direction through books of later date, thus tracing the prevalence of burials of living beings with the dead down to the fourteenth century of our era, when it was abolished even for Emperors and members of the Imperial family.

Four cases of burying living persons with grandees of rank in the sixth century before Christ, are on record in the *Tso ch'wen*. » Wei » Wu-tszĕ had a favourite concubine, by whom he had no children. » When he fell ill, he ordered (his son) Kho to provide her with » another husband; but as he grew worse, he told him to place » her with him in the grave. After his father's death, Kho married » the woman to somebody, saying: 'When my father was very ill, he » was in an abnormal state of mind; I obey the charge he gave when » his mind was sound'. At the battle of Fu-shi (593 B. C.), Kho » (who was then in command of the army of Tsin) saw an old man » placing ropes of grass in the way of Tu Hwui (a gigantic warrior » in the hostile army), so that he stumbled and fell to the ground, » and was taken prisoner. In the night that same old man appeared » to Kho in a dream, and said: 'I am the father of the woman » whom you have married out. Because you followed the charge » which your deceased father gave you when he was of a sound » mind, I have thus rewarded you'" [1].

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[1] 初魏武子有嬖妾、無子。武子疾、命顆曰、必

»In the eighth month (of the year 587 B. C.), Wen, the ruler »of Sung [1], died. He was the first who was buried with much »waste of wealth. (For his grave) they used lime of clams, »they employed carts and horses in increased numbers, and for »the first time interred living persons with the dead" [2]. Seven years later, the ruler of Tsin fell into a privy and perished. »An »official of lower rank had dreamt that very morning that he »carried the ruler on his back up to heaven. At noon he bore the »ruler out of the privy, and was subsequently buried with him" [3]. The fourth case refers to Ch'wen [4], a feudal ruler of Chu [5]. In the year 506 before our era »he threw himself down on a couch (in a »fit of rage), fell upon a furnace of charcoal, was burnt, and died. »Before he was placed in his grave, five carts and five living men »were buried" [6].

Mention is also made in the *Tso ch'wen* of a man who interred two daughters of his own with his deceased sovereign, as a mark of gratitude for his having, on a certain occasion, shown clemency to his father. In 527 before our era, a rebellion broke out in the town of Khien-khi [7], in the kingdom of Ch'u [8], which compelled the ruler Ling [9] to flee. »Shen-hai, the son of Wu-yü, said: »'Twice my father has violated the king's orders, and yet the king

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嫁是、疾病則曰、必以爲殉。及卒、顆嫁之、曰、疾病則亂、吾從其治也。及輔氏之役顆見老人結草以亢杜回、杜回躓而顚、故獲之。夜夢之曰、余而所嫁婦人之父也。爾用先人之治命、余是以報. Fifteenth year of the Ruler Suen's reign.

1 He has been mentioned on page 691.

2 八月宋文公卒、始厚葬。用蜃炭、益車馬、始用殉. Second year of the Ruler Ch'ing's reign.

3 小臣有晨夢貞公以登天。及日中貞晉侯出諸厠、遂以爲殉. Tenth year of the Ruler Ch'ing's reign.

4 穿.

5 邾.

6 自投於牀、廢於鑪炭、爛、遂卒。先葬以車五乘、殉五人. Third year of the Ruler Ting's reign.

7 乾谿. 8 楚. 9 靈.

» has spared his life; what clemency could exceed this? The fate » of a ruler may not be met with indifference, nor a merciful man » be rejected; I will go where he has gone'. Accordingly he sought » for the king, and finding him at the Kih gate, took him » home with him. In summer, in the fifth month, on the day » kwei-hai, the king strangled himself in the house of the officer » (Wu-)yü and Shen-hai, and the latter buried him, placing his » own two daughters with him in the grave" [1].

All the above cases took place in the same age in which Confucius lived, two even during his life. The Sage was already over forty years old when Hoh Lü, the monarch of Wu, well known to our readers, perpetrated an act of cruelty of the kind which casts into the shade the savagery of the Dahoman princes. In the fourth year of his reign (A. D. 510) »his daughter committed sui- » cide, which cast deep sorrow over Hoh Lü 's soul. She was buried » outside the Ch'ang gate, to the west of his capital. Tanks were » dug, and the earth piled up (for a tumulus); a crypt of veined » stone was built and an accumulation of wood constructed therein, » and gold tripods, cups of jade, silver goblets, and most precious » clothes stitched with pearls were sent along with the maiden into » her second life. Thereupon they played with white cranes in the » shop-streets of Wu, so that the crowd followed to look at them; » and then receding, they caused men and women to pass with » the cranes through the gate which opened upon the road which » led unto the crypt. Engines, now suddenly set at work, shut the » gate upon them. This slaughter of living persons to make them » accompany the deceased was disapproved of by the denizens" [2].

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[1] 無宇之子申亥曰、吾父再奸王命、王弗誅、惠孰大焉。君不可忍、惠不可棄、吾其從王。乃求王、遇諸棘闈、以歸。夏五月癸亥王縊於宇尹申亥氏、申亥以其二女殉而葬之. Thirteenth year of the Ruler Chao's reign. The same episode is related in the Historical Records, chapter 40, l. 13.

[2] 乃自殺、闔閭痛之。葬於國西閶門外。鑿池。積土、文石爲椁、題湊爲中、金鼎、玉杯、銀樽、珠襦之寶皆以送女。乃舞白鶴於吳市中、令萬民隨而觀之、還、使男女與鶴俱入羨門。因發機以掩之。殺生以送死國人非之. The Annals of Wu and Yueh, chapter 2. This episode has been touched upon already on page 419.

That human sacrifices at burials were far from generally popular in those ancient times, we have seen from the fact that people expressed their aversion of them by the Lay of the Yellow Birds, and from the case of Wei Wu-tszĕ. Further proof is adduced by the following episodes, recorded in the *Li ki* (ch. 13, ll. 27 and 31): »Ch'en Tszĕ-kü (a grandee of the kingdom of Ts'i) having died in » Wei, his wife and his major domo planned together to place some » living people with him in the grave. When they had decided upon » doing so, Ch'en Tszĕ-khang (a younger brother of the defunct and » a disciple of Confucius) arrived, and they spoke to him about the » matter in the following words: 'When our Master falls ill, he » will have nobody in the Nether-world to provide for his wants; » therefore we beg that some person may be buried along with » him'. But Tszĕ-khang said: 'Burying living people with the » dead is no good rite; nevertheless, if he falls ill on yonder side the » grave and wants anybody to wait upon him, who could be more » fitted for the task than his own wife and his major domo? If the » thing can be dispensed with, I desire that it shall be dispensed » with; but if it must be done, I wish you two to be the persons'. » On this, the project was not carried into effect" [1]. — »Ch'en » Khien-sih, being laid up ill, called his brothers together and gave » the following order to his son Tsun-ki: 'If I die, you must make » my coffin large and spacious, and make my two slave-girls lie » in it with me, one on each side'. When he had expired, his son » said: 'It is not a good rite to bury the living with the dead; » how much worse must it be to lay them in the same coffin!' » Accordingly he did not perpetrate the murder" [2].

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[1] 陳子車死於衛、其妻與其家大夫謀以殉葬。定而后陳子亢至、以告曰、夫子疾、莫養於下、請以殉葬。子亢曰、以殉葬非禮也、雖然則彼疾當養者、孰若妻與宰。得已則吾欲已、不得已則吾欲以二子者之爲之也。於是弗果用. Section 檀弓, II, 2.

[2] 陳乾昔寢疾、屬其兄弟而命其子尊已曰、如我死則必大爲我棺、使吾二婢子夾我。陳乾昔死、其子曰、以殉葬非禮也、況又同棺乎。弗果殺. *Loc. cit.*

The native literature affords sufficient evidence that also after Confucius's time entombments of living persons with the dead were far from exceptional in the cases of princes and magnates. According to Mih-tszĕ, it was in his time a prevalent opinion that »in the case of a Son of Heaven, the maximum number to » be killed and buried should vary between several hundreds and » several times ten, and, in that of a Prince or a Great officer, » between several times ten and a certain minimum" [1]. Though this statement be, perhaps, exaggerated, it corroborates what the Miscellanies about the Western Metropolis relate concerning a discovery made by the prince of Kwang-ch'wen (see page 397) in the tomb of one of the first princes of the kingdom of Wei: » The tumulus of the ruler Yiu was very high and large. After » the gate leading to the crypt was opened, they found the way » entirely barred by a wall of stone, which they broke down, after » which, having descended to a depth of over ten feet, they found » a screen, adorned with mother-of-pearl. Thereupon descending » over one foot further, they beheld more than a hundred dead » bodies, stretched crosswise and athwart each other. Not one was » in a state of decay. Only one lad was among them; all the » others were young women. Some were sitting, others were lying » on the ground, or seemed to stand erect. In dress and shape » they did not differ from living persons" [2]. Those females at the time they were enclosed in that tomb were doubtlessly intended to serve the deceased as a harem in his second life.

No mention is made of human bodies being found in the graves, opened by the said prince, of Siang and Ngai, who ruled the same state of Wei between the years 334 and 296 before our era (see pp. 397 *et seq.*). But concerning the grave of Ngai's son, which he ransacked like the others, we read in the same Miscellanies:

» The tomb of Tsié-khu, a son of the king of Wei, was very » shallow and narrow. It contained no coffin, but only a couch of » stone, six feet broad by ten long, and a screen of stone. The » lower parts of that couch were entirely adorned with mother-of-

1 See page 669.

2 幽王冢甚高壯。羨門既開皆是石堊、撥除、丈餘深乃得雲母。深尺餘見百餘屍、縱橫相枕藉。皆不朽。惟一男子、餘皆女子。或坐、或臥、亦猶有立者。衣服形色不異生人. Chapter 6.

» pearl. Two corpses, one of the male and the other of the female » sex, were found upon it, both over twenty years of age. They » had their heads turned to the east, were undressed, and not » covered with shrouds. Their flesh, skin and complexion were like » those of the living; so were their hair, teeth and nails. The king » was too much afraid to approach; he retraced his steps, and had » the tomb closed up again" [1]. Can we suppose that the youthful couple had been laid down there the one dead, and the other alive?

The royal house of Ts'in, to which, as we have seen, the most ancient cases of burying living people with the dead are set down by Chinese books, faithfully kept up this institution to the end of its sway. It is stated that »the ruler Hien abolished it in the first year of his reign (383 B. C.)" [2]; but concerning the consort of king Hwui-wen [3] who reigned between the years 336 and 309 before our era, we read: »Suen, Queen Dowager in Ts'in, fell in » love with Wei Kwei. Becoming so ill that she was on the point » of death, she gave this order: 'At my burial, Wei-tszĕ must be » placed with me in the grave'. This filled Wei-tszĕ with dismay. On » his behalf Yung-jui said to the Queen Dowager: 'Do you believe » that the dead have knowledge?' 'They are unconscious', was the » reply. 'If', rejoined the other, 'your intelligence is so clear as to » understand that the dead have no knowledge, why then should you » commit the idle act of burying a living minion of yours at the side » of a dead person who has no knowledge of it?' 'You are right', » the Queen Dowager answered, and she withdrew her order" [4].

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[1] 魏王子且渠冢甚淺狹。無棺柩、但有石牀、廣六尺、長一丈、石屏風。牀下悉是雲母。牀上兩屍、一男、一女、皆年二十許。俱東首、裸臥、無衣衾。肌膚顏色如生人、鬚髮齒爪亦如生人。王畏懼之、不敢侵近、還、擁閉如舊焉.

[2] 獻公元年止從死. Historical Records, chapter 5, l. 21

[3] 惠文.

[4] 秦宣太后愛魏醜。夫太后病將死、出令曰、爲我葬必以魏子爲殉。魏子患之。庸芮爲魏子說太后曰、以死者爲有知乎。太后曰、無知也。曰、若太后之神靈明知死者之無知矣、何爲空以生

But the practice was carried to its highest pitch by the same House on the death of Shi Hwang, who about two hundred and twenty years before the beginning of the Christian era had succeeded by force of arms in incorporating with his own realm all the feudal states into which China had hitherto been divided. We have related on page 400 how his son and successor 'Rh-shi, besides unsparingly dooming to death all the men who had assisted in hoarding up treasures in the mausoleum, had all the inmates of his father's harem, who had borne him no sons, shut up therein.

From the absence of references to the practice in contemporary records, we are almost tempted to conclude that under the Han dynasty, and during the time of the Three Kingdoms, the immolation of living persons to the dead was of rare occurrence. Our studies of the Standard Histories of that epoch have not acquainted us with a single case of such human sacrifices, nor do the biographies of empresses and imperial concubines contained therein, mention a single instance of a woman having been immolated to the manes of her consort. However, some cases on record may have escaped us, and some allowance must be made for the supposition that slaves and concubines continued to be immolated without the annalists and official historiographers deeming it worth their while to put on record such common-place occurrences. This supposition almost forces itself upon us when we take into consideration, on the one hand, that such practices were so deeply rooted in the institutions of ancient China as to be in very active force under 'Rh-shi, whose reign immediately preceded that of the Han dynasty, and, on the other hand, that history proves its prevalence at the beginning of the fourth century, that is, more than a hundred years after the period of the Three Kingdoms. We read of Mu-yung Hi, the ruler of the state of Yen mentioned on page 653:

» When Madam Fu (his concubine) died, Hi wailed and howled bit-
» terly, beat his breast and stamped his feet, as if he had lost his
» father or his mother. After the coffining he had the lid taken
» off again, and attempted sexual intercourse with her. Wearing
» the mourning of the highest degree, he confined himself to rice
» gruel, and decreed that all his officers should howlingly appear

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所愛葬於無知之死人哉。太后曰、善、乃止. Chapter IV of the *Chen kwoh ts'eh* 戰國策 or »Records of the Contending States", treating of the epoch immediately preceding the Ts'in dynasty. This book is stated to have been extant already under the Han dynasty.

» before her manes in the Palace. The Shamans also were ordered by » him to wear plain mourning attire. He charged some of his officers » to judicially investigate whether those who had howled for the lady » had given proper marks of loyalty and subjection to his will by » shedding tears, and he punished those whose cheeks had remained » dry. This caused all his ministers to tremble with fear, and every » one of them took some acrid or peppery substance in his mouth, » to cause his tears to flow.

» The consort of Mu-yung Lung, a woman born of the family » Chang, Hi's own sister-in-law, who was possessed of a handsome » gait, a beautiful countenance and much wit, was singled out by » Hi as a victim to be buried along with Madam Fu. Seeking » to impute some crime to her, that he might doom her to death, » he tore up the garments which were destined to be placed with » the deceased in her grave, and discovering felt of inferior quality » inside the boots, he condemned her to die by her own hands. » Her three daughters came to implore his mercy, knocking their » heads against the floor; but he remained inexorable. From the » highest nobles down to the common people, all were ordered by » him to assemble families to build the sepulchre; the whole contents » of his treasuries were spent upon it, and he had three wells of » ground-water stopped up with molten metal. This sepulchre » measured several miles in circumference. Inside it they depicted » the eight tso (?) of the *Shu king*, and Hi said: 'The men who » have done this work so cleverly, We shall send along with the » Empress into this grave hill'. Those who knew this regarded those » men as sons of misfortune. Wei Khui, the Imperial Charioteer » of the Right Hand, and some others, fearing they too would » have to follow the defunct into the tomb, washed their hair and » bathed their bodies, and awaited their death" [1].

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[1] 苻氏死、熙悲號、躃踊若喪考妣。大斂既訖復啓其棺而與交接。服斬縗、食粥、制百寮於宮內哭臨。令沙門素服。使有司案檢哭者有淚、以爲忠孝、無則罪之。於是群臣震懼、莫不含辛、以爲淚焉。

慕容隆妻張氏、熙之嫂也、美姿容、有巧思、熙將以爲苻氏之殉。欲以罪殺之、乃毀其蓧、韓中有弊氈、遂賜死。三女叩頭求哀、熙不許。制公

In ensuing ages, the native books are generally silent upon immolations of human beings on behalf of the dead. This might lead us to the conclusion that such immolations then fell into disuse, did not some references here and there point to the contrary. Tʿai Tsu [1], the founder of the short-lived dynasty of Cheu, who died in 953, is stated in the Standard Histories of that period to have ordained that »no human lives under any pretext whatever should be destroyed when his corpse was consigned to the grave" [2]. During the Sung dynasty, »one Tung Tao-ming, a native of Pao-sin in Tsʿai-» cheu, when his deceased mother was buried concealed himself in » her grave, and was thus buried along with her. After three days » had elapsed, his family opened the grave and took him out of » it, quite hale and healthy. He thereupon settled at the side of » the grave in a shed, till the end of his life" [3].

The practice of burying living people with the dead seems to have been maintained specially by the Tatar family of Liao, who during the Sung dynasty ruled over modern Manchuria and part of Kirin, often extending its sway also over adjacent portions of Northern China. Of Shun-khin [4], the consort of Tʿai Tsu [5], the first emperor, it is stated that, »when he breathed his last (in A. D. 925), she » declared she would have herself buried at his funeral. Her kinsmen » and several officers energetically protested against this plan, and » therefore she merely cut off her right hand and placed it in the

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卿已下至於百姓率戶營墓、費殫府藏、下鋪三泉。周輪數里。內則圖畫尚書八坐之象、黽曰、善爲之朕將隨后入此陵。識者以爲不祥。其右僕射韋琎等竝懼爲殉、沐浴而待死焉. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 124, l. 15. This episode is narrated also in the Annals of the Sixteen States, section 後燕錄.

1 太祖.

2 過陵內切不得傷他人命. Old History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 113, l. 7.

3 董道明蔡州褒信人、母死出葬、道明潛匿墓中、人葬之。經三日家人發冢取之、道明無恙。終身廬于墓側. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 8.

4 淳欽.

5 太祖.

» coffin" [1]. The same work narrates: »In the first year of the » period T'ung hwo (A. D. 983), Kiai-li, who in the Puh-hai » region held the office of Tah-ma, asked permission to be inter- » red with the deceased emperor (King Tsung), having received so » many favours from him. The new emperor did not, however, » allow this, but sent him some presents as a mark of distinction .... » When King Tsung was buried in the Khien mausoleum, his » intimate favourite Tah-lu was enclosed with him in the tomb" [2]. That during the Mongol dynasty of Yuen women used to be buried along with deceased monarchs, has been stated already on page 437, in an extract from the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao.*

An almost certain proof that immolation of human beings at Imperial burials must have been continued uninterruptedly in China, is the fact that it was done on an extensive scale during the first hundred years of the Ming dynasty. It is difficult to believe that it could then have cropped up anew all of a sudden, if it had really been allowed to slip into abeyance during a series of ages. It is stated in the Official Annals of the House of Ming that the emperor Ying Tsung [3] in the first year of his reign (A. D. 1436) bestowed posthumous honorary titles upon ten women »who had » been Palace concubines of (his father) Suen Tsung, buried along » with this monarch. When T'ai Tsu (the first emperor of the » dynasty) died (A. D. 1398), ladies of the Palace followed him to » death in great numbers. For (the third, fourth and fifth emperors) » Ch'ing Tsu, Jen Tsung and Suen Tsung such immolations also took » place, and the same rule was followed again in the case of the » emperor King, who died in the quality of Prince of Ch'ing, for, at that » time it was usual to act similarly in the case of every prince of im- » perial lineage. The practice was only abolished when Ying Tsung » prohibited it by his testamentary behests" [4]. This last statement

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[1] 太祖崩、后稱及葬欲以身殉、親戚百官力諫、因斷右腕、納于柩. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 71, l. 4.

[2] 統和元年渤海撻馬解里以受先帝厚恩乞殉葬。詔不許、賜物以旌之。。。葬景宗皇帝於乾陵、以近幸撻魯爲殉. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 10, l. 2.

[3] 英宗.

[4] 蓋宣宗殉葬宮妃也。初太祖崩、宮人多從死者。成祖仁宣二宗亦皆用殉、景帝以郕王薨猶

is corroborated elsewhere in the same historical work, in the following words: »At the demise of the emperor King, (his brother »and successor) Ying Tsung buried with him the lady T'ang and »other inmates of the back palace, and contemplated letting the »empress share the same fate. But he no further insisted upon »it when Li Hien had told him to take into consideration that »this consort had been sent into retirement by the defunct and »repudiated, and that her immolation would be the more deplor- »able as her two daughters were of a tender age [1]. Ying Tsung »forbade by his last will the immolation of Palace concubines" [2]. The *Suh wen hien t'ung khao* [3] informs us how many in number the women were, who fell victims to the practice on the death of the first, the third, the fourth and the fifth monarchs of the dynasty. T'ai Tsu was followed to death by no less than thirty-eight of his forty concubines, Ch'ing Tsu by all his, sixteen in number, Jen Tsung by four of the seven, and Suen Tsung by seven out of eight.

The dynasty of Manchu origin, which now rules the Empire, at the commencement likewise sacrificed human lives at burials. They did so, at least, if we may trust De Guignes, who, without mentioning the source of his information, states: »L'empereur Chun- »tchy, dont le règne finit en 1661, ordonna, à la mort d'une »de ses femmes, que l'on immolât trente personnes aux mânes »de cette princesse, et que son corps fût déposé dans un cercueil »précieux, et brûlé (??) avec une prodigieuse quantité d'or, d'argent, »de soieries et de meubles. A la mort de la mère de Kang-hy (en »1718), quatre jeunes filles voulurent s'immoler sur la tombe de »leur maîtresse; mais l'empereur ne voulut pas le permettre, et dé- »fendit de brûler désormais des étoffes, des meubles ou des esclaves" [4]. »We cannot say whether such immolations have taken place under the more recent sovereigns, as both trustworthy native and foreign evidence on this point is wanting. But it is perfectly certain that

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用其制、蓋當時王府皆然。至英宗遺詔始罷之.
History of the Ming Dynasty, chapter 113, ll. 12 *seq.*

1 景帝崩、英宗以其後宮唐氏等殉、議及后。李賢曰、如已幽廢、況兩女幼、尤可憫、帝乃已.
Chapter 113, l. 16.

2 遺詔罷宮妃殉葬. Chapter 12, l. 7.

3 Chapter 133, l. 14.

4 Voyages, vol. II, page 304.

they are not a recognized institution of the State, not being mentioned as such in the dynastic Codices of Rites.

Sutteeism. Widowhood.

Though burying living people with the dead has been gradually obliterated from the customs of the Chinese people by advancing culture, yet it has struggled hard in its decline and insensibly assumed a modified shape, under which it still maintains itself. Daughters, daughters-in-law and widows especially, being imbued with the doctrine that they are the property of their dead parents, parents-in-law and husbands and accordingly owe them the highest degree of submissive devotion, often take their own lives, in order to follow them into the next world. Numerous cases of such suicides are mentioned already in the works of the Han dynasty, and are found in the books of subsequent ages in gradually increasing numbers, which is quite natural, seeing they slowly took the place of immolations at burials.

The instances of such suicides, on record, are so exceedingly numerous and so much resemble each other, that we are compelled to abstain from our usual custom of placing instances before the reader. We shall therefore confine ourselves to noting their general tendency.

First of all, we see that self-immolation on behalf of the dead is chiefly confined to the women kind. The reasons are obvious: — as a son, a man was never entitled by any moral law to destroy himself, his highest duty being to preserve his body for the perpetuation of his family and the maintenance of the ancestral worship; and, as a husband or a father, a man could never become the slave or property of his wife or child.

Generally, self-destruction on behalf of the dead is denoted in the books by the character 殉, which, as stated on page 723, is constantly used in ancient and modern works to express the burial of living people with the dead. This fact of itself alone clearly sets forth the intimate connection between the two subjects; and the circumstance that, in many recorded cases, suttees first requested to be placed with the object of their devotion *in the same tomb*, serves to confirm the same. Many were even placed in the same coffin. We read furthermore of suttees hanging, starving, or otherwise killing themselves *on the grave* of their parents, husbands, or parents-in-law, or immolating themselves there by swallowing the earth of the tumulus; and we have come across instances of women who, after having thrown themselves into the grave pit at the burial and being

dragged out of it by the attendants, have taken their own lives.

The manner of committing self-destruction has always varied considerably. By far the greater number of victims are reported to have simply hung themselves, or cut their own throats, starved or drowned themselves; it is, however, recorded of a great number of women that they took poison, threw themselves down from some high building or into an abyss, or asphyxiated themselves in a well, or even a privy. We read frequently of one suicide entailing others, as when devout wives were voluntarily followed to death by their women slaves. Many destroyed their children's lives along with their own; some took their own lives while holding the soul tablet of their deceased husband in their hands, or strangled themselves with the remnants of the linen used to swathe his corpse, or accomplished the deed in the temple devoted to the worship of their ancestors, or at the side of the coffined or uncoffined corpse. It is stated in many instances that the suttee formally invoked her ancestors beforehand, praying them to gracefully receive her soul, and that she donned her best clothes, in order to appear before them neat and tidy in the next world (comp. page 702).

The deliberateness thus displayed in thousands of cases, is a proof that suicide was far from being always provoked by unreasoning grief, or by a sudden fit of despair, or by the fear that dire poverty would be the woman's future fate. Otherwise, numerous acts of self-destruction, now on record, would certainly not have been so faithfully committed to paper by historians and chroniclers as deeds worthy of the highest praise of the nation. That suttees were accustomed to pre-meditate the act, is no less obvious from the fact that a very great number are stated not to have taken their lives until they had properly conducted the dressing, coffining and burial of the defunct for whose sake they intended to throw away their lives. Sometimes they waited till the funeral was completed, and even observed the three years' mourning to the end. The books extol in numerous cases suttees who did not take their lives until they had, in strict accordance with the laws of filial devotion, provided for their parents or husband's parents to the end of their days.

Sutteeism performed by fire, as in India, can never have flourished in China to any great extent, where cremation of the dead has never been practised otherwise than exceptionally. Still, instances of it are found in native books, and some are interesting enough to deserve reproduction. »In the seventeenth year of the »Chi yuen period (A. D. 1351), Ch'en Tiao-yen revolted, and

» attacked Chang-cheu (in the province of Fuhkien). Khan Wen-» hing placed himself at the head of some troops and gave him » battle, but perished in the engagement. Madam Wang (his wife) » consequently fell into the hands of the rebels, but proved herself » a dutiful wife, unwilling to yield to violation. She deceived » the rebels by saying: 'If you will have patience with me until » I have buried my husband, I will do what you desire'. To this » they assented; the lady fetched the corpse, carried it home upon » her back, and raised a pile of fuel, which she set on fire. When » it was in a blaze of fire, she cast herself into the flames, and » perished" [1]. — » Madam P'an Miao, the wife of Sü Yun-jang, dwelt » upon the northern slope of mount Yuen. In the nineteenth year of » the period Chi ching (A. D. 1359), herself and her husband » with the father of the latter fled before the soldiery. In a certain » valley her father-in-law was taken prisoner. Her husband, burst-» ing into tears, rushed to his rescue and succeeded in effecting » the old man's escape, but not without being himself killed by » the soldiers. The latter then prepared to violate Madam P'an by » force; but she misled them by saying: 'As my husband is now » dead, I do not in the least object to submit to your will, » provided you will only burn his corpse, that I may no longer » have near me an object which causes me sorrow. Mistrusting » not her words, the soldiers gathered fuel to burn her husband; » and when the fire flamed up she alternately wept and harangued » the dead, then threw herself into the fire, and perished" [2].

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[1] 至元十七年陳弔眼作亂、攻漳州。[闞]文興率兵與戰、死之。王氏被掠、義不受辱。乃紿賊曰、俟吾葬夫卽汝從也。賊許之、遂脫得負屍還、積薪、焚之。火旣熾卽自投火中死. History of the Yuen Dynasty, chapter 200, l. 3. Also »The Memoirs of Chang-cheu-fu" 漳州府志, chapter 24, l. 30.

[2] 徐允讓妻潘氏名妙、圓山陰人。至正十九年與其夫從舅避兵。山谷間舅被執。夫泣以救、舅脫、夫被兵所殺。欲强辱潘氏、潘氏因紿之曰、我夫旣死、我從汝必矣、若能焚吾夫、可無憾也。兵信之、聚薪以焚其夫、火旣熾潘氏且泣且語、遂投火以死. History of the Yuen Dynasty, chapter 201, ll. 8 and 9.

The following case of Sutteeism by fire, likewise dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, is stated to have occurred in Jao-cheu-fu [1], a department of the province of Kiangsi. »Madam »Tung, the wife of one T'an Yiu, was a beautiful woman. During »the revolt of the Red Headkerchiefs her husband with his parents »and brothers all perished, and it was she who buried them. She »thereupon returned to her paternal home in Liang-shan; but »there a cuirassier frequently came to her house, with the object »of depriving her of her chastity. 'The defunct members of my »family', she said, 'have fulfilled their duties and never disgraced »themselves; if you, headman, decidedly desire to possess me, »then select an auspicious day for the celebration of the wed- »ding, and I will not object'. At that time, the unburied »coffin with her mother's corpse stood in the principal room of »her house. The next day, after she had performed the sacrifice »to the manes of the defunct, she piled up fuel around the cof- »fin, kindled it, and thus set fire to the house. While the flames »were blazing up, she wailingly exclaimed: 'Under these azure »heavens there was no room for my kinsfolk to live; on this vast »earth there is no place to contain me; — there being neither room »nor place for us, I intrust myself to these flames, to follow them'. »Taking her two daughters by the hand, she leapt with them »into the glowing fire, and perished" [2]. To quote one instance more, from the time of the Ming dynasty: »Madam Kao, a »native of Kia-ting, was the wife of Tih O-sien. One month after »the consummation of their marriage, her husband had a severe »abscess, and died. The widow, her arms clasped around the corpse, »wailed most piteously for three days. As her family belonged to

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[1] 饒州府.

[2] 董氏譚友妻有美色。紅巾亂友父母兄弟俱遭害、董葬之。歸梁山、有甲士造其家、欲汚之。董曰、吾故家子義不受辱、長者必欲得我、擇良日具禮、乃可。時母柩在堂。明日具祭畢、叢薪于柩、縱火焚室。火熾哭曰、天蒼蒼兮、不吾家造、地茫茫兮、不吾身容、不造不容、託乎火以相從。兩手牽二女、入烈焰死. »The Memoirs of the Department of Jao-cheu" 饒州府志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛 chapter 47.

» the indigent class, the corpse was burnt. When the pyre was » burning fiercely, she leapt into the flames; but her mother-in-law » rushed to her rescue and dragged her back. Annoyed at thus » being prevented from following her husband into death, she hastily » chewed up and swallowed his bones, and that same evening » hung herself" [1]. This case occurred in Su-cheu-fu, a department of the province of Kiangsu, where, as will be found in Chapter XVI, cremation was for a time more generally practised than anywhere else in China.

Almost on a par with these and similar cases of Sutteeism by fire are those of women who have thrown themselves into a fire which had been kindled to burn up the clothes and other possessions of the dead, in the hope of thus reaching, through flames and smoke, the defunct in the next world, together with these articles. We read of one O-nan [2], a woman of T'ai-hwo [3] in Yunnan province: » In the period Yuen fung (110—105 B. C.) her husband was » killed by Kwoh Shi-chung, a lieutenant general of the Han » dynasty. This man desired her for his wife, but she said: 'Will » you grant me three things? In the first place, let me make a » tent and sacrifice therein to my deceased husband; then let me » burn all his clothes and replace them by new ones provided » by yourself; and finally, inform all the people of this country » that I am going to be re-married with the observance of the » proper rites'. The general assented, and assembled the inhabitants » of the country on the spot on the 25th. day of the sixth month. » A tent of pine wood was erected, a fire kindled in it, and » O-nan with a drawn sword came forth from it, to let the fire » blaze up high and fierce. She now cast her husband's garments » into the flames, ripped up her own body with the sword, and » fell down upon the fire. Henceforth, to show their sympathy for » her, the people annually on the same day assembled on the spot » with burning torches, to appease her manes. Afterwards they called

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[1] 高氏嘉定人狄阿先妻。配一月、狄患癰死。高抱屍、慟哭三日。家貧火葬。火熾、高躍入火中、姑救出之。高恨不得從夫死、輒取夫骨齧吞之、其夕雉經死. »The Memoirs of the Department of Su-cheu" 蘇州府志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛, chapter 51.

[2] 阿南. [3] 太和.

» this the time of the return of the stars" [1]. We cannot unreservedly attach historical value to this episode. It savours strongly of a mere legend, invented to account for the existence of an old popular fire-feast or light-festival of unknown origin, evidently connected with star-worship. More trust may be placed in the following statement relating to Wen-ming [2], the consort of Wen-ch'ing, the fourth monarch of the Wei dynasty: » When this sove-» reign had died, his imperial robes, effects and requisites were all » burnt three days afterwards, in conformity with a custom observed of » old at Great Funerals in the Empire. The whole body of officers » and all the inmates of the inner palace attended this rite, wailing » and weeping. The empress, calling to the defunct in a heart-» rending tone of voice, jumped into the fire, but was saved by » the bystanders; yet it lasted long before she resumed conscious-» ness" [3]. Such cases are also recorded as having occurred among the people. We read that during the Ming dynasty, » Madam Chang, » the wife of Muh-yin who had married her when she was nineteen » years old, lost him in the next year, and, while burning the » clothes which the defunct had formerly worn, she suddenly cast » herself into the glowing flames. She was, however, saved from » them. When the coffin was closed, she desired to be placed in » it with the dead, but was prevented from executing her purpose. » Upon this, she abstained from food and died after a lapse of ten » days, standing against the coffin. The case having been reported

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[1] 元封間其夫爲漢將偏裨郭世忠所殺。欲妻之、南曰、能從我三事乎。一作幕次、祭故夫、一焚故夫衣、易君新衣、一令國人徧知禮嫁。如其言、於六月二十五日聚國人。張松幕、置火其下、阿南抽刀出、令火熾盛。乃焚夫衣、自引刀斷身、仆火。國人哀之、每歲以是日燃炬聚會爲弔。後人名爲星回節. » The General Memoirs of Yunnan" 雲南通志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛, chapter 45.

[2] 文明.

[3] 文成崩、故事國有大喪三日後御服器物一以燒焚。百官及中宮皆號泣而臨之。后悲叫、自投火、左右救之、良久乃蘇. History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 13, l. 10; also the Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 13, l. 6.

» to the Throne, a public mark of distinction was conferred upon » her" [1].

Promises of marriage, generally made in China by the nearest relatives of the parties concerned in their capacity of c h u-h w u n (see page 615), have apparently always been considered as strictly binding covenants, especially when ratified by the payment of the betrothal money and the customary presents to the family of the bride. A maiden, affianced in this manner, must accordingly consider herself as fully the property of her betrothed and his parents, as if the marriage had been already solemnized and consummated. As a consequence, we find in the books many instances of brides having taken their own lives on the death of their affianced husbands. This class of suicides is very old. We read that, during the Han dynasty, » the woman Li N. N., daughter of the denizen Li Ching- » ying, was promised in marriage to a son of the family Nieh. » This man died a violent death, upon which the girl, on being » apprized of the event, was overwhelmed by grief, and subsequently » hanged herself" [2]. There may be older cases on record, but we do not know of them.

It is perfectly natural that the duty of accompanying near relations into the life hereafter should push itself into the foreground when they perish by a fatal accident or suffer a violent death; commiseration with their sad fate then in unison with self-sacrificing attachment prompts one to suicide. In fact we find a very great number of women mentioned in the records, who killed themselves when their parents, parents-in-law or husbands had been butchered by robbers or rebels, had been drowned, had perished in a conflagration or in consequence of some other incident. One of the earliest and most illustrative instances of this sort is that of » the filial maid Ts'ao Ngo, a native of

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[1] 張氏莫隱妻、年十九歸隱、踰年夫亡、氏焚死者故衣、遽投烈焰。掖之出。復蔽棺欲俱殮、不得。遂不食、旬日立棺側死。奏聞旌表. » The Memoirs of the Department of Sung-kiang" 松江府志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛, chapter 62.

[2] 李氏某邑民李正榮女、許聘聶氏子。聶暴卒、女聞而悲、遂自縊死. » The General Memoirs of Szĕchwen" 四川總志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛, chapter 45.

» Shang-yü in Hwui-khi (province of Chehkiang). Her father, who » bore the name of Hü, a man versed in the art of evoking and » invoking spirits by means of songs accompanied by the music of » stringed instruments, on the fifth day of the fifth month in the second » year of the Han ngan period (A. D. 143) braved the waves of » the river in his district, in order to meet a certain dancing spirit; » but he was drowned. His corpse not being recovered, Ngo, then » fourteen years old, ran up and down along the bank of the river, » howling and wailing incessantly by day and by night. After seven- » teen days she jumped into the river, and found her death in the » waters" [1]. We place this episode before our readers especially with a view to the fact that a large number of similar suicides, committed under like circumstances, occur in the books of subsequent ages, so that we may consider Tsʿao Ngo's example, ever extolled to the skies by moralists and the public, as having stimulated the fair sex of her nation to constant imitation.

Quite on a par with this peculiar aquatic Sutteeism of Tsʿao Ngo stand the cases, no less numerous, of persons who have thrown themselves into burning houses whence their parents, husbands or parents-in-law were unable to escape, in order to perish in the flames along with them. But, however highly such noble deeds have been appreciated by writers and moralists of all times, they have not been applauded one wit more than the behaviour of the many dutiful children, wives or daughters-in-law, who have immolated themselves in the flames or in the waves which destroyed the unburied corpse of the object of their devotion. Such self-sacrifices are characteristic enough to justify our giving a couple of instances from the native literature. In the first century of our era, » Tsʿai Shun, » also named Kiün-chung, enjoyed a great reputation for his very » filial devotion. He was still young when he lost his father, but » even then he could provide for the subsistence of his mother. » Her life was cut short when she reached her ninetieth year. Be- » fore her son could commit her to the earth, a conflagration broke » out in the village. The fire menacing his hut with destruction,

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[1] 孝女曹娥者會稽上虞人也。父盱能絃歌爲巫祝、漢安二年五月五日於縣江泝濤迎婆娑神、溺死。不得屍骸、娥年十四、乃沿江號哭、晝夜不絶聲。旬有七日遂投江而死. Books of the Later Han Dynasty chapter 114, l. 11.

» he threw himself upon the coffin, clasping his arms around » it, and wailingly cried to Heaven. The fire passed by, burning » down the houses and dwellings around, and sparing his alone"[1]. About five centuries later, a certain grandee of the name of Yuen Ang[2], »having lost the mother who had given birth to him, re- » signed his office, in order to convey the deceased to his native » place. While travelling on the river, a gale arose, which swept up » the waves. By means of his clothes Ang tied himself to the » coffin, taking an oath that he would allow himself to be swal- » lowed up with it by the waters; and when the wind had gone » down all the other ships had sunk, except his own, which alone » escaped. Every one ascribed this to his sincere piety"[3]. — »Madam » Lu was the wife of Ch'en Wen-hien. In the thirty-eighth year » of the period Kia tsing (A. D. 1559) her neighbour's house » caught fire, and the flames reached hers. The encoffined body » of her mother-in-law stood in the principal apartment. With » marks of deep affliction she caressed it, swearing she would suffer » herself to be burnt along with it; and contrary to all expectation » the fire took a turn the other way, devouring the houses already » attacked, but doing no further damage. The people believed this » to have been caused by the influence of her hiao"[4].

These examples, of which we could easily multiply the number, shed light on the popular ideas concerning the attitude which the in-

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[1] 蔡順、字君仲、亦以至孝稱。順少孤、養母。母年九十以壽終。未及得葬、里中災火。將逼其舍、順抱伏棺柩、號哭叫天。火遂越、燒宅室、順獨得免. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 69, l. 15.

[2] 袁昂.

[3] 丁所生母憂、去職以喪還。江路風浪暴駭。昂乃縛衣著柩、誓同沉溺、及風止餘船皆沒、唯昂所乘船獲全。咸謂精誠所致. Books of the Liang Dynasty, chapter 31, l. 2.

[4] 盧氏陳文閑妻。嘉靖三十八年鄰人失火、及其家。時姑柩在堂。氏撫棺大慟、誓將俱焚、火忽旋、滅居室巋然無恙。人以爲孝感所致. »Memoirs of the District of Nan-tsing" 南靖縣志, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 閨媛, chapter 33.

visible powers adopt in respect of Sutteeism. Those powers, it is believed, regard with special favour such fanatic devotion towards the highest authorities in the family, and even work miracles in its behalf by disarming the elements; consequently, the hiao is no less sacred in the eyes of the gods than it is in those of men. It is scarcely necessary to add that the instances quoted will be better understood when considered in the light of the prevailing notions about the cohabitation of soul and body after death, notions which have already been treated of at length in this work.

We have seen that Sutteeism in China occurs under a variety of circumstances, which readily allow of being divided into classes. The most numerous class is that which comprises the suicides perpetrated by widows wishing to escape the chance of being re-married or of being in some other way deprived of their chastity. Indeed, being the property of her husband even after his death, a widow of good principles cannot but consider it an act of the highest injustice towards his manes, nay, of theft, to surrender herself up to another; neither may she encroach upon her husband's ownership by allowing herself to be stained, and so rejoin him in the life hereafter in a state less pure than that in which he had left her behind. These considerations are obviously very old, being traceable to a certain tribe, referred to by Mih-tszĕ and by the work called *Lieh-tszĕ*, which was in the habit of casting out many a widowed wife into the wilderness, because she was now wife to a spirit (see page 680), treating her in fact as the Chinese of the present day generally do the inanimate personal effects of the deceased (see page 700).

Every dynastic period has produced a very large number of women who, falling into the hands of robbers and rebels, preferred death to violation or abduction as wives or concubines. They broke their heads against rocks, trees, walls, or against the ground, threw themselves into abysses and rivers, or into houses set on fire by the robbers, or killed themselves by any means that offered; most of them, however, met their death vehemently scolding and calling down curses on the heads of the murderers of their husbands, and were despatched at once, to put an end to their railing. Two instances reproduced on page 737 belong to this class. No less numerous are the cases of self-destruction in times of peace and quiet committed by devout widows in order to escape a second marriage. Already during the Cheu dynasty the moral law forced widows to remain single for the rest of their lives, as we read in the *Li ki* (ch. 38, l. 11): »To keep her word

»is also a virtue in woman. Once mated with her husband, she »remains so for her whole life, and therefore she may not marry »again after her husband's death"[1]. The episode of Han P'ing (see pages 470 and 471), if it is based on a real event, proves that already in the fourth century before our era Chinese women were perfectly aware that it was their duty to follow their husbands into the grave, rather than to wrong them in their matrimonial rights. Some episodes of a similar sort are recorded as having taken place in the same early period, in the »Traditions about Sundry Women"[2], a work attributed to Liu Hiang, the statesman and scholar with whom our readers have made acquaintance on page 433; but these savour too much of the legendary to call for much attention.

Since the beginning of our era, cases of widows destroying themselves in order to avoid being re-married, appear in the books in gradually increasing numbers. Evidently, from that time forth, the maxim, now-a-days generally received as gospel, viz: »As a faithful minister does not serve two lords, neither may a faithful woman marry a second husband"[3], has been a predominant principle of life. The astounding number of instances of such Sutteeism are regularly interspersed with others of betrothed girls, who took their lives to preserve their chastity on behalf of deceased future husbands with whom they had never enjoyed the pleasures of matrimonial life, nay, whose faces they had never yet beheld. Such self-destruction of wives and brides, and in general all other kinds of Sutteeism mentioned in this chapter, have always been greatly encouraged by public opinion. Moralists vied with each other in extolling such women to the skies. Liu Hiang in the first century before our era recorded in his above-mentioned Traditions a great number of instances for the edification of the nation, and Hwang-fu Mih (see page 415) three centuries afterwards did so too in a treatise ever since current under the same title. Imperial historiographers since the Han dynasty have never ceased to perpetuate the memory of many such heroic women in the Standard Histories in separate chapters, entitled: »Traditions about Filial and Dutiful Persons"[4] or »Traditions concerning Sundry Women"[5], and local chroniclers have

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[1] 信婦德也。壹與之齊終身不改、故夫死不嫁. Section 郊特牲, III.

[2] 列女傳.

[3] 忠臣不事二主、貞女不更二夫.

[4] 孝義傳.

[5] 列女傳.

exercised still greater influence, by continually holding up Sutteeism to public admiration by noting down many hundreds and hundreds of cases in the so-called »Memoirs"[1], which are separate accounts for each province, department or district, forming voluminous thesauri of topographical, historical and statistical data of great value and interest, well deserving the attention of the foreign student. But this is not all. In all ages suttee temples have been erected by the people and the mandarinate, and the manes, thus properly sheltered, have been worshipped as local idols; nay, the greatest distinction that can be conferred on mortal man in China, viz. rewards and honours from the Son of Heaven himself, have been bestowed upon many suttees. We read of imperial emissaries being commissioned to worship the suttee woman in her house or upon her tomb, or to hand over to her family a pecuniary subvention for defraying the expenses of her burial and the mourning ceremonies. But since the fifth century it has become more especially customary for emperors to glorify sutteeites by conferring upon them an honorary inscription, to be written or engraved upon a tablet suspended over the door of their dwelling or the gate of their village; and from this arose the custom of erecting special gates for the exhibition of such tablets (see Pl. XV). This imperial method of publicly commemorating pre-eminent conjugal devotion will be treated of more in detail on pages 769 *et sqq.*

No wonder that, prompted by such powerful incentives, Sutteeism has always been in high favour with the people. The family being considered in China as the foster-mother of every good or bad act performed by its members, and consequently as sharing in the merits or demerits thereof, the honour of obtaining the aforesaid laurels was eagerly sought after by each family or clan. Hence the fact is not surprising that the recorded cases of Sutteeism are constantly increasing from age to age. Under the Yuen dynasty and that of Ming they reach their maximum. A collection of those that occurred during the rule of the last-named family of sovereigns embraces in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing* no less than forty-five chapters[2], and doubtless large numbers of cases have never found their way into the books. When the present dynasty ascended the throne, matters continued in just the same way, as is proved by the numerous cases recorded in the Memoirs of provinces, departments and districts. Matters finally became so bad that the emperor Shi Tsung[3] in 1729 found himself obliged to check Sutteeism by publicly decreeing that he would

1 志. 2 In the section 閨媛, chapters 50—94. 3 世宗.

Honorary Gate for a Chaste Woman.

LICHTDRUK VAN EMRIK & BINGER, HAARLEM.

no longer confer honours upon its victims. An edict which he issued to this effect, contained the following passages:

»That a woman should cleave to one husband during her life »and not marry again is the admitted doctrine of the Empire; but »in so doing there is a great difference between the chaste widow »and the suttee. The suttee on her husband's death fearlessly fol- »lows him into the grave, and though her lot may be hard, harder »indeed is that of the chaste. The suttee has no further trouble to »bear, but the widow endures troubles for years; the one sacrifices »her life to escape hardships, the other bears up against them »with fortitude. Nor are the motives of the suttee for sacrificing »her life always the same: sometimes it is fear of poverty or »inability to provide for herself; or in her intense grief no thought »is given to the future, so that she forgets that after her husband's »death the duties of a wife become two-fold greater. Farthest from »her are the aged parents of her husband, whom she should nurse »and care for on behalf of their son; nearest to her are his children »who must be taught and instructed as the father would wish; »besides there are household duties too many for enumeration. Can »it now for an instant be said that, after a husband's death, all »the wife's responsibilities are ended?

»For this reason, distinctions of honour for widows are men- »tioned in the Canonical Laws, but nothing is said of the suttee. »The folly of sutteeism is on a parallel with that of cutting out »one's liver [1], and supposing that such examples were to encou- »rage others to a reckless destruction of their lives, We should »be greatly grieved. As no law against conferring tablets has »hitherto been promulgated, We accordingly issue this decree. »Let the magistracy distribute it throughout the Empire and to »every hamlet, that the ignorant may learn true filiality and widows »be taught that it is their duty to preserve their lives. If after »the issue of this decree people still continue the practice, We »shall confer no distinction of honor; their families shall increase, »and the feelings of the people be roused to discontinue this practice" [2].

In spite of this edict, and though it may have been followed by others of subsequent monarchs, Sutteeism of widowed wives and brides has continued to flourish in China down to this day. Now

1 To give it to one's sick parents or husband's parents to eat as a medicine.

2 Notes and Queries on China and Japan, II, page 4. Not having been able to find the Chinese text of this decree, we copy from this periodical the translation, without guaranteeing its correctness.

as ever it meets with the same public applause; the aureola which covers the victim and her family is as eagerly coveted as it was in former ages. Hence, no doubt, many a woman is prevailed upon, nay compelled, by her own relations to become a suttee. There are but few Chinamen who cannot relate some case which has occurred of late years in their neighbourhood. In October 1886 an instance occurred at less than fifty paces from our own house in the island of Kulangsu, opposite Amoy: a secretary of the Taotai's deputy for the administration of matters relating to the intercourse with foreigners having died, his wife drowned herself in the well of her house, and a few days afterwards we witnessed the transportation of the two coffins to a steamer which was to take them to the dead man's place of birth.

The modes in which suttees despatch themselves seem to be much the same as in former ages. Some drown, hang or strangle themselves; the greater number, however, take poison, mostly opium, which is within everybody's reach, and lie down by the side of their husband's corpse, to die. But the height of fashion is attained when the bereaved wife, concubine or bride hangs herself in public. Such a suicide entails so much expense that only rich families can afford it. Indeed, in order that it may have the intended effect, that is to say, bring glory and fame to the family concerned by being officially reported to the Throne and rewarded with an honorary tablet or gate, it is requisite that the high local authorities should be fully interested in the case and honour the suicide with their presence. Such a condescension on their part must be purchased by presents, and these can only reach them by the intervention of very notable and influential persons, whose services must be dearly paid for, or acknowledged by expensive attentions. The rules of etiquette require that the direction of the affair should forthwith devolve upon the highest mandarin who promises to attend, and it is he who fixes for the ceremony a day and an hour which suit him best. The date is announced to the community by placards posted up all around, which carefully state the names of the two families, the ward and the street.

Pending the arrival of the great day, the principal actress in the drama dons her finest garments and, seated in a palankeen, makes a round of calls on her family, friends and acquaintances, allowing them to regale her sumptuously. She is much congratulated by all, and extolled to the skies. By order of the authorities, but at the expense of the family, a platform is raised in due time on

the chosen spot, and beautifully decorated with flowery canvass and lanterns. Each mandarin who arrives at this place with his usual escort of underlings, is received with the customary honours due to his dignity. Forthwith kneeling down, he knocks his head a few times against the ground before the suttee who, seated on a chair upon or near the platform in her choicest costume which she desires to wear in the grave and in the Realm of Shades, receives motionlessly this highest homage ever paid in China by proxies of the Son of Heaven to commoners.

When all are assembled and tea and dainties have been served, the highest mandarin present gives the signal for the woman to ascend the platform. In a few moments she adjusts the fatal noose around her neck, and launches herself into eternity by kicking away a stool upon which she stands; the mandarins then leave, and the large crowd of spectators, attracted by the scene, disperse. A number of notables from the environs, who have arrived in palankeens to shed lustre over the heroic suicide by their presence, throng round the family to offer their congratulations, flattering them about the imperial distinctions of honour which are to be expected. Many of these notables, and also the mandarins, are afterwards presented with money sent them by the family, which is not only to serve as a mark of gratitude for their having honoured the ceremony by their presence, but also to indemnify them for their outlay for palankeen-bearers and attendants. And during several days these worthies are in turn invited to festive repasts, which more than anything else helps to drain the coffers of the family. But what does this matter, seeing they have covered themselves with fame and glory for good and ever?

Although by no means of everyday occurrence, these public suicides are not at all rare. Doolittle [1] mentions a young widow who publicly hanged herself in Fuh-cheu-fu, the capital of Fuhkien, about 1860; and towards the end of 1879 the foreign newspapers reported a similar suicide, which had taken place in November under the eyes of a crowd of friends and admirers in a village near Pagode Anchorage, the roadstead for foreign ships which call at Fuh-cheu-fu. That the authorities do not refrain from honouring such scenes by their presence, is a proof that the self-destruction of devout widows still enjoys the official approbation of the Government. It is even sometimes rewarded with Imperial honours. These are the same as have been in vogue for many ages, viz. the

1 The Social Life of the Chinese, chapter III.

permission to have an honorary inscription over the lintel of the dwelling, and to erect a gate somewhere in the neighbourhood, for the special purpose of displaying that inscription publicly. In most cases it is composed of the two characters 節烈, »The ardour of chastity", or 忠烈, »The ardour of fidelity or attachment".

Suttees who are honoured with such glorious marks of Imperial approbation may also be awarded a place in special temples which, in obedience to the Statutory Ordinances of the Empire, are erected under the care of the authorities in the capital of each province, department and district for the special worship of wives and girls who have excelled in chastity and filial conduct. In these so-called »Temples for the Chaste and Filial" [1] each woman is represented by a tablet inscribed with her name, titles, and such other particulars as her family deem fit to engrave upon it; like the ordinary soul tablets made for the dead, it is considered virtually to harbour the manes. Such an edifice of the State is generally located in the proximity of the temple dedicated to the worship of Confucius and his disciples. Twice every year, viz. in the second and eighth months which are the middle of spring and autumn, on the first day denoted by the cyclical character ting (comp. page 103), the authorities are bound by the duties of their office to make to all those tablets a sacrifice of a goat, a pig and sundry other things prescribed by the official rescripts. To this end they dispatch an emissary to the temple, who finds everything properly arranged under the care of the keeper or custodian in front of the open tabernacles which contain the tablets, and he presents the articles to the souls, offering incense, making a prescribed number of prostrations, and reciting a sacrificial prayer. Being qualified to such honours, the women represented by those tablets stand on a par with the divinities of the State. To render them greater honour still, their names are all engraved upon one or more honorary gates, built, in obedience to the Statutory Ordinances, under the auspices of the mandarins on the premises or in the environs of the temple, sometimes, however, a good way off, in an open place where they stand conspicuous. On both façades these monuments bear over the lintel the inscription 節孝, »For Chastity and Filial Conduct", and they are accordingly denoted, both in speech and writing, by the term: »Honorary Gates for Chastity and Filial Behaviour" [2].

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[1] 節孝祠. [2] 節孝坊.

To such distinctions suttees are, in theory, only admitted under considerable restrictions. The *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* has: »Any case of »a married or-unmarried woman who, in times of brigandage or »rebellion, has perished to save her chastity, may, even though the »event occurred long ago, be taken up when it has been duly in- »vestigated and verified, and a request may be made, that money »be awarded for the erection of an honorary gate. If there no longer »exist any members of her family, the authorities themselves shall »build the gate in front of her grave, and erect a tablet for her »in the Temple for the Chaste and Filial. — When a married »or unmarried woman has met her death in consequence of her »refusing to yield to forcible violation, or has taken her own life »because she was insulted, both the Board of Punishments and the »Board of Rites shall, in case the woman was never married a »second time, apply for the Imperial permission to erect an honorary »gate for her in accordance with the existing ordinances. But if, »unawares falling a victim to violence, she has been defiled or »maltreated, or has been wounded after being defiled, and has then »cast away her own life, the subsidy awarded for honorary gates »shall in her case be reduced by the half, and no tablet shall be »erected for her in the Temple.

»In case a chaste widow has perished because her family »compelled her to re-marry, public marks of distinction shall be »awarded her in accordance with the existing ordinances. If it »were the parents of her (deceased) husband who compelled her, »(not they, but) another elder of the family shall be appointed to »receive the subvention granted for her honorary gate, and to see »to its erection [1].

»Filial sons who injure their lives by cutting flesh from their

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[1] 婦女遭寇守節致死、雖事歷年久、覈實准其補行、題請給銀建坊。如無親屬則官爲建坊於墓前、節孝祠內設位。婦女因强姦不從致死、及因調戲自盡、非曾再醮者、刑部禮部會題請旨建坊如例。猝遭强暴被汚見戕、及被汚後刻卽捐軀者、坊銀減半、不於祠內設位.

節婦被親屬逼嫁致死者、旌表如例。若係翁姑逼勒、坊銀另擇家長支領、督理建坊.

» own thigh (and giving it to their sick parents to eat as a medi-
» cine), and ardent wives who, on the death of their husbands,
» preserve their chastity by suddenly taking their lives without being
» forced to such a step, are not awarded a public mark of distinc-
» tion by the existing ordinances.

» In every province, the cases must be put into writing by order
» of the Governor General and the Governor, in conjunction with the
» Literary Chancellor, and the necessary documents be forwarded
» to the Board (of Rites) for investigation. And if a petition be
» presented direct to this Board, it must be forwarded for examina-
» tion to the Governor General and the Governor of the province
» (in which the case has occurred), in order that these authorities
» may report upon it to the Board, after due enquiries into the facts
» and circumstances. After the request has been granted, the local
» officers are charged to pay out thirty taels of silver for the erection of
» a gate. If the parties concerned are awarded a board with a verse
» or inscription bestowed by His Majesty, a piece of silk cloth shall
» be hung over it, and it shall be delivered thus by the Imperial
» Chancery (Nei koh) to the Board, which will then despatch it
» by Courier-post to the Governor General or the Governor of the
» province for transmission to the local officers, by whom it is to
» be handed to the family for which it is destined" [1].

To understand these regulations aright, it is necessary to know that not only female chastity on behalf of a deceased or still living husband is thus officially encouraged. Chastity for its own sake, when defended by a woman at the expense of her life, meets with an equal reward at the hands of the Government. »If a wo-
» man", thus the Ordinances run, » be compelled by her husband
» to prostitute herself for money, and takes her own life in order

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[1] 孝子割股傷生、及烈婦夫亡無逼迫而遽殉節者、例不准旌.

各省由督撫學政會題、取具册結送部覈題。其在部呈請者、由部行查督撫覈實咨部。題准後令地方官給銀三十兩建坊。如奉有御賜詩章扁、額緞疋、由內閣交部、發提塘、齎送督撫、行地方官給領. See the 3rd. chapter of the *Wu hioh luh* 吾學錄, or »Record of my Studies". This is a useful work on the ordinances and statutes of the reigning dynasty, illustrated by historical and explanatory notes. It was published in 1832 by Wu Yung-kwang 吳榮光, a Governor General of Hukwang province.

» to preserve her chastity, or if an unmarried virgin loses her life in » defending herself against violation, an honorary gate shall be erected » in each case near the door of the paternal dwelling. When a woman » slave or slave girl, or a Buddhist or Taoist nun, dies in defending » herself against violation, an honorary gate shall be erected in front » of her grave, but no tablet shall be set up for her in the Temple"[1].

In spite of the above rescripts, the road leading to such official laurels is by no means open to people of all classes. The mandarins usually turn a deaf ear to petitioners, unless they are their own colleagues, or persons who have bought an official dignity or title, or members of the highly privileged class of men who have won a degree at the competitive literary examinations of the State, which open the way to official posts; or, unless the sweet tone of the petition be accompanied by the still sweeter sound of silver coin. The much coveted honour therefore lies beyond the reach of the lower class. They must wait patiently until a later generation of their family happens to produce a rich or distinguished man who, anxious to fulfil the ancient classical duty of glorifying one's ancestry, will take the matter up; or until some newly appointed Provincial Governor, desirous of promoting in his province the cultivation of the chief of female virtues, be pleased to announce publicly that any one may now apply gratuitously for the honours in question. At times, the presentation of such requests is facilitated in another wise. In 1888 the directors of the Yuh p'ing college[2] in Amoy, high literary graduates of great influence, distributed printed notifications, stating that they volunteered to receive applications, to draw up petitions in the form required and to place them before the authorities, all this gratuitously. It is not improbable that measures like these are frequently taken in the Empire, for such colleges or shu-yuen[3], which serve to encourage literary studies by affording the educated citizens from time to time an opportunity of competing for pecuniary rewards by making compositions, exist in every city and every town.

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[1] 本夫逼令賣姦、抗節自盡者、童養之女未成昏拒夫調姦致死者、建坊於父母之門。凡僕婦、婢女、女戶、女冠、拒姦致死者、建坊於本婦墓前、不於祠內設位. The same work, *loc. cit.*

[2] 玉屏書院.

[3] 書院.

Both in written style and in speech, suttees are generally denoted by the terms: »Wives or girls who manifest the ardour of chastity"[1], »Wives or maidens manifesting ardour of self-sacrificing attachment"[2] and »Wives or girls of ardent fidelity"[3]. Frequently these expressions are abridged to »Wives or virgins displaying ardour"[4]. Another term is: »Self-destroying chaste wives or maidens"[5], besides some others of less frequent usage.

No doubt the self-destruction of widows and affianced girls when there is no danger of their being bereft of their chastity, has greatly decreased since the enactment of the rescript, reproduced on page 752, that no official distinctions shall be awarded to such suttees. The Statutory Ordinances still further discourage suicide by granting just the same honours to widowed wives, concubines and brides who, instead of destroying themselves, simply abjure matrimonial life for good. By doing this, a woman more completely fulfils everything the law of morals requires of her, than by directly following her husband into the grave. Without deviating an inch from the great duty that she should remain the undefiled property of her defunct husband or bridegroom, she can devote herself in the most perfect way to the service of his soul by faithfully sacrificing to it food, drink, mock money and other necessities in the life hereafter; at the same time she can take good care of his children, and thereby ensure him a line of descendants who, as is hoped, will offer similar sacrifices to his manes for ever. Besides, she may during many years to come distinguish herself in serving her husband's parents till they die, showing them the same implicit submission and devotion which children owe to their parents; for it is an ancient social law, already laid down in the *Li ki* (ch. 39, l. 5), that »a »woman shall serve her parents-in-law as if they were her own pa»rents"[6]. This principle, referred to on page 551, naturally follows from the doctrine laid down on page 619, that a son's property belongs to his parents, so that his wife, being a part thereof, is their slave.

The Imperial rescripts regulating the conferring of official honours

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1 節烈婦 or 節烈女. 2 貞烈婦 or 貞烈女.
3 忠烈婦 or 忠烈女.
4 烈婦 or 烈女.
5 殉節婦 or 殉節女.
6 婦事舅姑如事父母. Section 內則, I.

upon chaste widowed wives, concubines and brides who do not destroy themselves, run as follows:

» Any wife or concubine who (after her husband's death) has » from her thirtieth year, or from before that age, remained chaste » until her fiftieth, or any such woman who, dying before her » fiftieth year, has preserved her chastity during fifteen years [1], shall » be granted a public distinction, if her filial conduct and sense of » duty have both been perfect, or the hardship and misery which » she has sustained have been such as to deserve commiseration. » If she has kept herself chaste during the stated number of years » with observance of her duties, a tablet bearing the inscription: » 'Signalized by the Ts'ing dynasty by means of a vermilion (*i. e.* » Imperial) pencil' shall be awarded as an ornament for the door- » lintel of her house, and a commemorative stone engraved with her » name shall, moreover, be erected in the Temple for the Chaste » and Filial; but no soul tablet of her shall be placed therein, » neither shall a subsidy be granted for an honorary gate" [2]. The *Wu hioh luh* adds: » According to the regulations at present in » force, thirty taels of silver must be paid in every department or » district by the authorities for the erection of an honorary gate for » all the chaste wives and girls of the locality who have been fre- » quently recommended for public distinction" [3].

» For unmarried women who have remained chaste (for the sake of » their deceased bridegrooms) during the stated number of years, » the same regulations are valid as for chaste married wives. If the » widow has until her death preserved her purity in the house of her » husband (or bridegroom), a public distinction shall be bestowed

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1 A note in the *Ta Ts'ing luh li* (chapter 10, l. 16) informs us that this period was in 1824 reduced to ten years. In 1886 we were told by several Chinese that the legal period at that time was only six years; but we cannot vouch for the correctness of their statement.

2 守節之婦、不論妻妾、自三十歲以前守節至五十歲、或年未五十身故、其守節已及十五年、果係孝義兼全、阨窮堪憫者、俱准旌表。其循分守節合年例者、給與清標彤管四字扁額、於節孝祠另建一碑、鐫刻姓名、不設位、不給坊銀. See *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 3, l. 10.

3 謹案現行章程、各府州縣有彙請旌表之節婦貞女共給銀三十兩、總建一坊.

» upon her, also if she die before the number of years required » by the Ordinances have elapsed.

» If an affianced couple by leading a wandering life before their » marriage become separated from each other, and the woman remains » chaste until they are united in marriage at an advanced age, a » public distinction shall be awarded and an honorary gate erected, » displaying the inscription: 'Faithful and dutiful Family' " [1].

Similar regulations, whether or not officially enacted, doubtless obtained under former dynasties; for in the Standard Histories and Memoirs thousands of widows and brides are placed on record as having gained such official laurels, after having given in the prescribed way full testimony of their filial piety and dutifulness. Besides, a great number are mentioned in those works without its being stated whether they were rewarded in the same wise. All such women are generally denoted by the terms » Women or maids of self-sacrificing attachment" [2], » Chaste wives or girls" [3], » Dutiful wives or girls" [4], terms still in common use at the present day. Among the instances recorded in the books, there are many of noble females who, in order to avoid the danger of being married again, disfigured or maimed themselves, as did the wife of Wei King-yü, mentioned on page 466. No small number took vows as Buddhist nuns and retired into convents; this was even done by an imperial concubine, named Ch'en [5], married to Wu [6] of the Posterior T'ang dynasty: »As my body cannot be buried with you", she exclaimed beside his death-bed (A. D. 923), » I will have my head shaven and become a nun" [7]. It is owing to the admission of the tablets of widowed wives and brides who have devoted their lives to the service of their

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1 未婚貞女合年限者、如節婦例。其有在夫家守貞身故、及未符年例身故者、一體旌表.

夫婦未成婚流離失散、守志至老合巹者、准與旌表、建坊用貞義之門字樣. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 3, ll. 10 and 11.

2 貞婦 or 貞女.

3 節婦 or 節女.

4 義婦 or 義女.

5 陳. 6 武.

7 既不能以身爲殉、願落髮爲尼. Old History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 49, l. 3.

parents-in-law, in the aforesaid temples, that these edifices and the appurtenant honorary gates are, as stated on page 750, denominated Temples and Gates for the Chaste *and Filial.*

As stated on page 621, it is very common, nay it is the rule in China, for sons, when married, to remain settled in their paternal home, or, at any rate, to occupy a dwelling in the neighbourhood, which is then considered to form a dependance of the original family seat. There also their widowed wives are required by custom to stay. Indeed, a widow being the property of her husband's manes and, moreover, of his parents, she has no right to remove elsewhere, except with the full approval of the latter. Besides, the ancestors of her husband having been accepted by her as her own on her marriage, she must devote herself to their worship and to that of her husband for ever, with all the devotion and ardour she is possessed of; indeed, she must conform her conduct in this respect to that of king Wu and his brother, the Prince of Cheu, the holy founders of the Cheu dynasty, who were held up by Confucius as paragons for all time, because »they carried their h i a o to the highest pitch »by serving their dead as they had served them when alive, and »the departed as they would have served them had they still con»tinued among them" [1]. On the other hand, the parents of the widow cannot reclaim her, their power over her having been formally transferred by themselves to her parents-in-law at her marriage, in exchange for betrothal money and marriage presents.

It is scarcely necessary to say that many families are much gratified by having among them a widow who steadfastly refuses to marry again. Her resolution to live a life of chastity and of filial devotion to her parents-in-law reflects great honour upon all her relations and surrounds them with an aureola of so-called »door fame or house reputation" [2] of which every Chinaman is extremely sensible. She is treated with much more affability than the other women in the house, and in this wise encouraged to persist in her purpose; indeed, the family know perfectly well that, should she change her mind and not live up to her original vow, they would be greatly dishonoured and exposed to public ridicule. Should she have borne the deceased no son, her parents-in-law without loss of time adopt one for her, that he may provide for

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[1] 事死如事生、事亡如事存、孝之至也. *Chung yung*, XIX.

[2] 門風.

her until death, assisting her also in the discharge of her sacrificial duties. On her demise, it becomes incumbent upon this son to worship her soul in conjunction with that of her husband, just as if they had been the real authors of his being, *i. e.*, as the Chinese express it, he »inherits the important charge" (see page 534) in the capacity of Continuator of their line of posterity. As such he must properly worship the whole line of his adoptive parents' ancestry and bequeath this religious duty on his death to his own Continuator, and so on, through an endless series of generations. A widow who survives her parents-in-law, generally finds her maintenance secured by the legal portion of the patrimony which appertained to her deceased husband, and this so-called »widow's capital"[1] on her death devolves upon her sons or her adopted Continuator.

Among the lower classes, chaste widows by no means experience the same amount of encouragement in the circle of their kinsfolk as among the rich. People who have to work hard for their daily bread cannot afford the luxury of a »house reputation" at the expense of the sustenance of a drone in their hive. Apart from this, they have no graduated or influential clansmen to do justice to the case by trumpeting it abroad and so redeeming it from the oblivion of the poorer quarters; nor can they expect that such a work will be taken in hand by others, in a country where clan-fellowship so strongly prevails as to cause every one to look upon people not belonging to his clan, if not as enemies, at least as strangers who do not concern him. To have a chaste widow living among them would also be particulary undesirable for the poor because of the anxiety they would constantly suffer, lest she should prove unsteadfast to her purpose, grow weary of her poverty and resolve to free herself from it by re-marrying, which would bring down the derision of the whole ward upon her kinsfolk. No wonder then that poor parents-in-law generally try to avoid these difficulties by prevailing upon the widow to take a second husband. Her second marriage has, moreover, the advantage of enriching them with long strings of copper coins or weighty pieces of silver, which betrothal money either the new bridegroom or his family must pay them in recognition of their relaxing the parental power.

In spite of the little sympathy shown them by their own kinsfolk, there are, as the Chinese generally aver, in almost every town

[1] 守寡本.

among the poorer classes a goodly number of widows who never re-marry, but live alone in miserable huts, earning their own scanty livelihood by embroidery and other kinds of needle-work. No doubt the number would be greatly reduced did not corporations, organized on purpose to assist such noble devotees of conjugal fidelity, allow them to apply at fixed times for a small gift in money or food. Such charitable societies as a rule merely support a limited number of widows, admitting new ones only when a vacancy occurs. It is hardly necessary to say that such assistance barely suffices to keep these poor women out of the clutches of hunger, in a country where cold indifference and egotism rival each other for pre-eminence. What wonder then that many a widow who has to maintain herself through life, if she has children at her charge, should some fine day bid farewell to chastity, in order, as the exculpatory expression runs, »to procure food for her children by calling in a husband unto her" [1].

Only when imperial marks of distinction have been awarded them, is any support granted by the authorities to chaste paragons of female virtue. The *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* states: »If among the chaste »and filial women to whom a public distinction has been granted, »there are one or two living in poverty who can hardly provide »for themselves, orders shall be given to the Governor General and »the Governor of the province to prescribe to the authorities of the »department or district to which those women belong, to inquire »into their condition and then to induce the neighbours and »clansmen, and also the administrative authorities, to unite and »decide upon giving them an allowance of food, that they may »be supported in providing for themselves and not be forced to »give up their situation in life" [2].

Among the better classes, a widow who re-marries seldom takes her sons along with her to her second home. People are generally too averse from weakening their family in its struggle for existence by permitting any of its male members to secede from it; besides, grandparents would put their Veto on the matter, being so partial

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[1] 招夫養子.

[2] 曾經旌表之節孝婦人間有一二貧苦、難以存活者、應令督撫各飭所屬州縣覈實、取具鄰族及印官各結、酌量給與口糧、俾存活有賴、不致失所. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 2, l. 13.

to have around them as large a male issue as possible with a view to the perpetuation of the ancestral worship, of which they themselves hope to reap the advantages after death. Neither can their power over their fatherless grandchildren be neutralized by the widow's maternal rights. Though she is just as much the owner of her children as her husband was, a child having to observe the same measure of hiao and to wear the same mourning for both (see page 550), her rights fall far behind those of her husband's manes which abide in his ancestral home upon the domestic altar, and consequently are also secondary to those of his parents, in accordance with the great social principle that a child can possess nothing so long as its parents or grandparents are alive. Therefore a widow who does not desire to live apart from her sons, has generally no choice but to remain in the house of her parents-in-law. Cases are, however, frequent in which permission is granted to widows remarrying to take their sons to their new home, a condition usually being made that the latter shall come back at stated times to worship the manes of their father and their ancestors, and shall settle for good in their own family on attaining the age of manhood. We may note here that cases of widows taking their children along with them to the home of a second husband also occurred in ancient China, as is proved by the then prevailing moral rescripts reproduced on page 518 (no. 19) and on pages 520 *seq.*

That widowed wives and concubines are forbidden by a law of the State to marry again before the twenty-seven months of mourning for their consort have expired, has been stated on pages 613 *seq.* The lower classes, among whom such second marriages chiefly occur, take little notice of this law. Transgressors of obscure condition easily escape the notice of the mandarins and generally remain unpunished, as no detectives or petty officials care about prosecuting people out of whom no money is to be squeezed.

Parents-in-law in fashionable circles as a rule refuse to have anything to do with the second marriages of their daughters-in-law. Although entitled, as owners of her person, to dispose of the widow in marriage in their capacity of chu-hwun (see page 615), they generally prefer to renounce this right, from a dislike to violating the ownership of their deceased son; nay, in order to evade the appearances of co-operating in the outrage done to his manes by the second marriage, they often go so far as to refuse the betrothal money which the new husband or his parents have to pay, so that this money finds its way into the coffers of the

parents of the widow, or, failing these, into those of some other member of her father's clan who is entitled to act as her chu-hwun.

The odium attaching to second marriages of women is best illustrated by the manner in which they are consummated.

In the south-eastern districts of the province of Fuhkien, scarcely any one is inclined to accept a widow for a young man for whom he is seeking a wife. Such a woman, it is believed, must bring bad luck to her second husband and his clan, because of the revengeful manes of her first husband, which, offended at the infringement upon his ownership, will hover over them all. Consequently, a second husband is almost always either a widower, or a man of middle age, no longer under the control of others in respect of his choice of a wife, and, moreover, a man of small means who cannot pay the large sum of betrothal money which is generally demanded for a virgin. Male or female match-makers, indispensable at every Chinese marriage, are easily found; for even at a widow's wedding their services are well paid for by presents of money and various articles. But these go-betweens do not now arrange everything, as at ordinary marriages, when their intervention is generally carried so far that the bride and bridegroom do not even see each other before the consummation of the marriage. The parties themselves now settle most of the preliminaries. For this purpose they have from time to time an interview in some place agreed upon by the matchmaker, or in a temple, under pretext of going there to worship the gods, and at one of these interviews the bridegroom hands the betrothal money to the widow, leaving her entirely free either to deliver it up to her parents, or to hand it over to her parents-in-law, in case they should claim it. The money is, however, often paid away through the intervention of the go-between, according to circumstances. Quite a different course of conduct is followed at ordinary weddings. The money and the presents are then taken to the house of the bride by a festive procession, and there handed over in presence of almost the whole family, assembled in their best clothes to attend the celebration of an event which is considered as one of the most important in the series of the wedding festivities, because it binds the two families for good to the consummation of the marriage.

It is also an indispensable rite to exchange on the same occasion written covenants, by which the legal chu-hwun on both sides declare their approval of the wedding and bind themselves not to break the engagement. Custom requires these two important docu-

ments to be written out in a swollen, bombastic style, properly interspersed with ambiguous allusions and classical phrases, in a style, in short, regarded as the best the literary world can produce. But no man of letters who has any respect for himself would deign to waste his abilities upon such »wedding letters"[1] in the case of a widow. Perfectly aware that holy antiquity condemns second marriages of women by the word of the *Li ki* (see page 745), he feels sure that, should he presume to write such documents, the gods, and the spirit of the first husband in particular, would send down punishments upon him and frustrate all his future endeavours to obtain a degree at the examinations of the State; for, any man who willingly and wittingly becomes an accomplice in a violation of the sacred rescripts of the *Li ki*, must by all the unseen powers be adjudged unworthy of a place in the national Confucian school of the mandarinate and the learned, whose fundamental principles are to maintain whatever is preached by the Classics. Only some old or pettifogging student who has lost all hope of ever taking a degree and obtaining a place in the service of the State, attracted by the pecuniary reward, can be found to do such debasing work. He must draw up the contracts in the open field; for, were they written in a house, great misfortune might befall the inmates. And on the spot where the rest of the water with which he has rubbed the ink, is poured away, no blade of grass, or moss, or weed, will ever grow. Such is the curse that sticks to a widow's marriage contract.

When the day assigned by the fortune-teller as suitable for the consummation of the marriage has arrived, the widow is carried in an ordinary sedan-chair to her new home. She is not escorted by a festive bridal procession, nor by music, or by the show and merriment which accompanies the bridal procession of a virgin. The whole ceremony resembles the clandestine weddings mentioned on page 617, which are sometimes celebrated during the time of mourning. No presents are sent by relations and friends, nor are congratulatory visits paid.

Marriages of widows with widowers are of frequent occurrence when both are blessed with offspring. They are generally concluded with the object of making the step-children intermarry afterwards, and thus the difficulty of being unable to buy wives for the sons for want of betrothal money is overcome. The payment

[1] 婚書.

of such purchase money for brides is, indeed, a great impediment to marriages among the poor classes, and dooms many men of small means to long or perpetual bachelorhood.

However great the reputation of chaste widows in Chinese society may be, their fame is not on a par with that of the affianced bride who, on the death of her betrothed, renounces matrimony for ever ere she has shared with him the pleasures of conjugal life, or even beheld his face. Such chaste virgins, though they are, as stated on page 755, also rewarded with honorary gates, are very scarce in the Flowery Empire, owing especially to the fact that the parents on both sides discourage any such intention from a fear that the girl might afterwards change her mind and entertain a pardonable desire to marry, which would turn the halo with which her noble intention had first surrounded both families, into an object of public derision. The very few chaste virgins of this sort who become now and then the talk of society, are almost exclusively the brides of mandarins or literary graduates, or belong to very notable families who, coveting still more distinction than they already enjoy, do not even recoil from compelling the girl to abjure the married state.

When a widowed bride has acquired the consent of her own parents and those of her deceased bridegroom to renounce conjugal life for ever, she is as a rule allowed to settle for good in the mortuary house, and is then formally united with the dead in marriage. The *ch'iūng-t'áo* ceremonies, mentioned on page 47, having been properly celebrated at her paternal home, she dons a gaudy bridal attire, such as has been described on pages 53 en 54, and, seated in a palankeen, is escorted by the customary bridal procession to her new home. Here she is definitively united to the dead man at the side of his coffin by being made to partake of certain food and spirits at a so-called »table at which the marriage is sealed by means of rice-spirits"[1]. This ceremony is attended by the deceased, either in his invisible shape, or in that of his wooden soul tablet. Finally she is initiated in the family by worshipping its ancestral tablets, domestic divinities, parents and elders. She then changes her costly bridal dress for the mourning costume prescribed for widows, weeps and laments at the side of the coffin, and goes through all the mourning ceremonies which are incumbent on a widow, pledging herself for ever at the altar of her bridegroom's manes and waiting on his

[1] 酒婚棹.

parents as if she were actually their daughter-in-law. Afterwards a Continuator is adopted for her and her defunct husband. The news of her heroic deed quickly spreads abroad and, making a triumphal march through the country, it is soon on the lips of the whole population, especially on those of the educated and the literary, who are more thoroughly imbued than others with veneration for the ancient classical doctrine on female chastity.

As the Government appreciates the chastity of widows to such a degree that it confers not only high public honours upon them, but also raises them to the dignity of State divinities, it logically follows that it has laws for the protection of such virtue. We find in the Code of Laws the following fundamental article:

»If a wife or concubine after the expiration of the mourning for »her husband earnestly desires to remain chaste, and yet is com- »pulsorily married out by her own paternal grandparents or parents, »or by those of her husband, they shall receive eighty blows with »the long stick. If the marriage has been enforced upon her by »relations for whom she must mourn for a year, the said punish- »ment shall be increased by one degree (ten blows), and again by »one degree if the culprits are her relations of the third, fourth »or fifth degree of mourning. Neither she, nor the man who has »taken her in marriage, shall be punished. In case the consumma- »tion of the marriage has not yet taken place, the widow shall »return to her first husband's home and there be suffered to exe- »cute her purpose to remain chaste [1], and the betrothal money with »the wedding presents shall be restituted to the original owners. »But in the contrary case she shall be given to the second hus- »band, to cohabit with him [2]; yet the betrothal money and the »presents shall then be confiscated" [3]. We see from this article that

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1 Her fate will probably not be a very enviable one, under the authority of parents-in-law who have been so severely flogged on her account!

2 Her chastity is then irreparably lost. When the horse is stolen, it is useless to lock the stable door.

3 其夫喪服滿妻妾果願守志、而女之祖父母父母及夫家之祖父母父母强嫁之者、杖八十。期親加一等、大功以下又加一等。婦人及娶者俱不坐。未成婚者追歸前夫之家、聽從守志、追還財禮。已成婚者給與完聚、財禮入官. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chapter 10, § 居喪嫁娶.

even the unrestrained paternal or maternal authority, although it is the very substratum of the Chinese social and legal fabric and generally entitles parents to dispose arbitrarily of their children in marriage, must give way in case of a widow's chastity.

It is deserving of notice that brides who wish to remain unmarried after the death of their affianced husbands, are entirely past over in silence in this law. Its projectors apparently considered that such husbands had not yet acquired any positive right of ownership in the girl, and imaginary rights could not legally be taken under protection against the authority of her parents or chu-hwun.

The above fundamental article is followed in the Code of Laws by the following supplementary article:

»If violent hands be laid on a widow who desires to live a life » of chastity, by the members of the clan in which she was born, » or by those of her (deceased) husband's clan, and she be compelled » to marry again and thereby be defiled, her own grandparents or » parents, or those of her husband, shall receive eighty blows with » the long stick. If the culprits are her superior or senior relations » for whom she must mourn for one year, they shall receive seventy » such blows and be banished for one year and a half, and if they » are her superior or senior relations of the three lowest degrees » of mourning, they shall be punished with eighty blows and ba- » nishment for two years; but, if they are inferior or junior re- » lations for whom she must mourn in the second degree, the » punishment shall be one hundred blows and three years banish- » ment; and if they are inferior or junior relations for whom she » must mourn in the three lowest degrees, they shall receive ninety » blows and be banished for two years and a half. The chu- » hwun of the new husband shall go unpunished if they were not » acquainted with the circumstances of the case; but if they were » aware thereof and nevertheless took part in the act of violence, » they shall receive the fifty blows with the short bamboo stick which » the fundamental law providing against the marrying of women under » compulsion demands, and this punishment must be increased by » three degrees, carrying it up to eighty blows with the long stick. » — If the widow has not been defiled, her parents, parents-in-law, » agnates or cognates, and the chu-hwun of the man who mar- » ried her shall be punished one degree less severely, and in this case » she shall be allowed to return to her home and there to remain » chaste. Should she prefer, however, to live with her new husband, » she may do so, in accordance with the fundamental article, and

» in this case the betrothal money and presents shall be forfeited » to the profit of the magistrates, and the culpable relations severally » receive the blows mentioned in the fundamental article.

» If the widow did not voluntarily yield up her chastity, but » committed suicide, it shall not be enquired into whether she was » defiled or not. The culprits shall be punished with one hundred » blows and banishment for three years, if they are her own or her » husband's parents or grandparents; with a hundred blows and » transportation for life to a country 2000 miles distant if they are » superior or senior relations for whom she must mourn for one » year; with a hundred blows and lifelong banishment to a distance » of 2500 miles, if they are kinsfolk for whom she must mourn » in the third or fourth degree; and with a hundred blows and » lifelong banishment to a country 3000 miles distant, if they » are her superior or senior relations of the fifth degree. And if » they are her inferior or junior relations, they shall be sent into » lifelong banishment in a distant province if they belong to those » that must be mourned for in the fifth degree, and to a most » distant province if they belong to the fourth degree of mourn- » ing or to the third; but if they are inferior or junior relations » to be mourned for during one year, they shall be condemned to » strangulation and be kept in prison to await the confirmation of » their sentence by the higher authorities. The chu-hwun of » the new husband, if they were acquainted with the circumstances » or took a part in the act of violence, thus causing the death » of the widow, shall be brought to justice as accomplices, and be » punished one degree less severely than the culpable relations.

» If a woman desiring to remain chaste and having no other chu- » hwun than herself, might become the object of the compulsory » attempts of some person who wishes to marry her or be compelled » by him to accept the betrothal money and should commit sui- » cide, the man in question shall be sent into lifelong banishment to » a near province and, moreover, pay the expenses of her burial" [1].

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[1] 其孀婦自願守志、毋家夫家搶奪强嫁、以致被汚者、祖父母父母及夫之祖父母父母杖八十。期親尊屬尊長杖七十徒一年半、大功以下尊屬尊長杖八十徒二年、期親卑幼杖一百徒三年、大功以下卑幼杖九十徒二年半。娶主不知情不坐、知情同搶、照强娶答五十律加三等、

Though the Chinese Government does not formally forbid seconp marriages of widows, yet it regards them with great disfavour, as is proved by the fact of its declaring that »twice-married women cannot receive honorary titles" [1] from the Emperor; moreover, it severely punishes widows who, when in possession of such a title, desecrate it by taking a second husband. For the better understanding hereof the reader must know that the ordinary Imperial method of rewarding officers for merit or services is by conferring titles of honour upon them. These are eighteen in number, constituting nine separate ranks, each with two titles. Whenever such a title is conferred upon a servant of the State, an honorary title is, as a rule, bestowed at the same time upon his consort and may also be granted to his parents or grandparents; the female titles are nine in number, corresponding to the said nine male ranks. The ladies who bear them, are styled »Women of authority" [2], or »Women invested with authority" [3], or »Women on whom authority is conferred" [4]. »If such a woman marries again after the death of »her husband", says the Code of Laws, »she shall be sentenced as

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杖八十。未致被汚者、父母翁姑親屬娶主各減一等、婦女均聽回守志。如婦女自願完聚者、照律聽其完聚、財禮入官、親屬照律分別擬杖。

若孀婦不甘失節、因而自盡者、不論已未被汚。祖父母父母夫之祖父母父母杖一百徒三年、期親尊屬尊長杖一百流二千里、功服杖一百流二千五百里、緦麻杖一百流三千里。緦麻卑幼發邊遠充軍、功服發極邊充軍、期親擬絞監候。娶主知情同搶、致令自盡者、以爲從論、各減親屬罪一等。

若婦人情願守志、別無主婚之人、如有用强求娶、逼受聘財、因而致令自盡者、發近邊充軍、仍追埋葬銀兩. Chapter 10, § 居喪嫁娶.

1 再嫁之婦不得受封. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, chapter 10, l. 12.

2 命婦.

3 受命婦 or 封命婦.

4 誥封婦 or 誥命婦.

»a wife would be who married again during the time of mourning »for her husband", in other words, she shall receive either one hundred blows with the long stick, or eighty blows, according as she becomes a wife or a concubine (comp. page 613 *seq.*). »Further, the »patent by which the title was conferred upon her shall be cancelled, and she shall be divorced from the new husband. If such a »marriage has been arranged by chu-hwun, they shall receive »the same chastisement reduced by five degrees, if they knew that »the woman was a titled lady, and the betrothal money with the »presents shall be confiscated. But if (the chu-hwun of the husband) were ignorant of this circumstance, they shall not be punished, »and the money and presents shall be restituted to them; but the »married woman shall be divorced in this case all the same" [1].

The Law thus making it obligatory on widows of mandarins never to marry again, it is quite in keeping that the Government should award no honorary gates or other public distinctions to them as rewards for chastity after their husband's death. »Married women", says the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, »who have received a title of honour »from the Government because of the merits of their sons, may be »awarded such public distinctions, but not so chaste women on whom »such a title has been bestowed because of their husbands' merits" [2].

The class of the literati, the gentry of the nation, from which the mandarins are continually being recruited and who in consequence consider themselves intimately connected with them, use to deem second marriages of women belonging to their caste particularly disgraceful, although the laws do not prohibit them. Should the wife of one of them venture to accept a second husband, a unanimous cry of indignation would at once go forth because of the »cruel insult offered to a man of letters" [3], and they would stand together as one man against a crime so defamatory and injurious to the memory of one of them. Nor would the de-

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[1] 若命婦夫亡再嫁者、亦如凡婦居喪嫁人者擬斷。追奪敕誥、並離異。知係命婦而共爲婚姻者主婚人各減五等、財禮入官。不知者不坐、仍離異、追財禮. *Loc. cit.*

[2] 婦人因子受封准與旌表、因夫受封守節者不准旌表. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 3, l. 10.

[3] 暴辱書文.

ceased himself leave the perpetration of such a deed unavenged, the prevailing notions attributing to the inhabitants of the Land of Shades the possession of an amount of power quite equal to that which their position caused them to enjoy in the present world. Fortunately, marriage to such widows, being dangerous to the second husband and his family in more respects than one, seldom takes place.

Honorary Gates.

Having so often referred to honorary gates in the foregoing pages, we must now give some explanation concerning these monuments, tracing their origin and history.

Like most Chinese institutions, the method of rewarding and commemorating meritorious and virtuous subjects by conferring upon them such gates as marks of public distinction, may be traced far back into antiquity. We read in the Historical Records that Wu, the founder of the Cheu dynasty, after having achieved the conquest of the Empire by the renowned battle in the plains of Muh (see page 116), »ordered the ruler of the principality of Pih » to liberate the prisoners among the people and to affix a mark of » distinction to the gate of Shang-yung's village" [1]. This Shang-yung seems to have been a worthy of high repute, for we read in the *Shu king* that Wu himself did honour to him »by making bows at the gate of his village" [2]; but there is nothing else on record about him. The word piao 表, used in the above passage to denote the awarding of the distinction in question, is still now-a-days used in official documentary style with the same meaning. This fact is brought out several times by the extracts from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*, given on pages 751 *seq.* and 755 *seq.*

Khang [3], the third monarch of the Cheu dynasty, who ascended the throne scarcely forty-five years after the battle of Muh, is stated to have dictated the following mandate to one of his ministers, who likewise bore the title of Ruler of Pih: »O! fatherly tutor, » I now reverently charge you with the work of the Prince of » Cheu [4]. Go! signalize the pure and single them out from the de- » praved; attach marks of distinction to their dwellings and villages,

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1 命畢公釋百姓之囚、表商容之閭. Chapter 4, l. 12.

2 式商容閭. Section 武成.

3 康.

4 A younger brother of the founder of the dynasty, a statesman of great repute for his virtues and wisdom. He has been mentioned already on pages 691 and 757.

»thus glorifying the good openly and making it ill for the »wicked, and establish in this way their influential reputation" [1]. This extract, drawn from the *Shu king*, shows that in the most ancient book of the Empire the awarding of official marks of distinction was denominated by the same two terms piao (see above) and tsing 旌 which have ever since been used officially with the same meaning by all dynasties, including the present reigning House. The first term may, we think, be translated by: »to affix marks of distinction", viz. to house-doors or gates of villages; the other by »to signalize". We mostly find in the books and in official documents the two characters united into the binomium 旌表, »to affix signalizing marks of distinction". According to the vocabularies, the proper meaning of tsing is a signal flag; but it is doubtful whether this entitles us to suppose that the distinctions in question originally consisted of flags or banners, as Chinese written evidence nowhere vouches for this. Perhaps the two flag-poles which literary graduates of the two highest ranks are now entitled to erect in front of their houses, may have had something to do with it; but this point does not come within our present scope.

It is easy to explain why, anciently, the marks of distinction — most probably consisting, as at present, of eulogic expressions — were also affixed over the village-gates. On pp. 619 *sqq.* we have stated that the Chinese greatly disapprove of people separating from their family seat. As a consequence hereof, families grow into clans and even into village-communities, with the regulation of the internal affairs of which the Government scarcely ever interferes, having voluntarily bound its own hands in this respect by the fundamental principle that vast patriarchal powers ought to be entrusted to parents and elders (comp. page 541). Where such a system prevails, it is quite natural that the elders are responsible to the Government for all the concerns of the community and consequently share in the merits or demerits of their juniors. The blame for bad actions extends to the elders, who also share in the rewards for good deeds. Hence it is quite logical that the laudatory inscriptions in question should ornament a door which is at the same time theirs, viz. the village-gate. Apart from this, it was the

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[1] 嗚呼父師、今予祇命公以周公之事。往哉、旌別淑慝、表厥宅里、彰善、癉惡、樹之風聲. The *Shu king*, section 畢命.

Village surrounded by a Moat and Wall.

professed object of the Government thus to blazon abroad merits and virtues, »in order to make it ill for the evil-doers and to endow the good with an influential reputation"; and this object could be better realized by placing the eulogies over village-gates than by merely affixing them in less frequented lanes and alleys over the doors of private houses.

The custom of ornamenting village-gates with honorary inscriptions having now been traced to its origin, the question arises at what period the nation began to erect special gates for the purpose of exhibiting such inscriptions; in other words, when the honorary gates assumed their present character. That period doubtlessly coincides with the dismantling of the villages in consequence of the consolidation of the internal peace and quiet of the Empire during the long-lived dynasties of T'ang and Sung. Under the rule of these Houses, which covers a period of over six and a half centuries, the nation breathed more freely after ages of unintermittent warfare and depredations of the soldiery and the banditti, by which it had been harrassed under fifteen recognized and as many more non-recognized dynasties which had been contending with one another in perpetual succession, ever since the overthrow of the House of Han. Now-a-days, fortified villages surrounded by moats or walls are the exception in China, and only to be found in those parts of the Realm where feuds and strifes are rife between different clans (comp. Plate XVI). The consolidation of internal peace under the two aforesaid dynasties greatly favoured an increase of population. This increase again promoted the agglomeration of villages into towns and cities, in which the villages connected together were reduced to the position of what we should call wards; and as these wards seldom were possessed of gates of their own, the towns themselves being entirely protected by fortifications, official commendations of the virtuous among the inhabitants could no longer be properly displayed unless gates were erected for the purpose on the confines of the wards; where they are to be found to this day.

Our supposition as to the period at which the erection of special honorary gates was commenced, is fully corroborated by documentary evidence. Nowhere are such gates mentioned in books previous to the T'ang dynasty, though marks of distinction affixed in those times to village-gates are on record in considerable numbers. A few instances gleaned from the Standard Histories may be quoted here from the many which lie before us. »In the seventh year of

» the period Yuen kia (A. D. 430), the authorities in southern » Yü-cheu recommended the family of Tung Yang, living under their » supervision in the district of Si-yang (province of Hupeh), to the » Throne for having lived together during three generations without » possessing separate doors leading out of the house or separate » cooking places inside the house. By an Imperial order a board » was placed over their gate, bearing the inscription: 'Village of » the family Tung who live in harmony and concord' [1]. — Shi » Ying-cheu from Yung-yang (province of Honan) had married a » daughter out of the family Keng of the same department. In the » twenty-third year of the period T'ai hwo (A. D. 499) he died, » upon which his wife, fearing that her parents might bereave her » of her chastity (by re-marrying her), wailed so bitterly at the » burial that she died. By Imperial mandate an honorary board » was exhibited over the door of her house and over the gate of » her village [2]. — Madam Ch'en, the wife of Sun Shen, was a » native of the department of Ho-poh (province of Shansi). Her » husband having been sent to a post on the frontiers, died there » soon after. When his coffin was brought home, his wife was so » overwhelmed with grief on beholding it, that she died after a » vehement outburst of wailing. The emperor Wen (A. D. 535— » 551) granted a mark of distinction for the gate of her village" [3]. — Under the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502—556) » there lived in Yuen- » ling, in the Suen-ch'ing country (province of Nganhwui) a » girl, who occupied the same bed with her mother. The latter » being attacked by a ferocious tiger, the daughter with a yell » grasped the monster with her hands so firmly that its hair was » scattered over the ground, and at a distance of over ten miles it » dropped its victim. The maiden then clasped her mother in her

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[1] 元嘉七年南豫州舉所統西陽縣人董陽、三世同居、外無異門、內無異煙。詔榜門曰、篤行董氏之閭. History of the Southern Part of the Realm, chapter 73, l. 3.

[2] 滎陽史映周妻同郡耿氏女。太和二十三年映周卒、耿氏恐父母奪其志、因葬映周哀哭而殞。詔標牓門閭. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 92, l. 6.

[3] 孫神妻陳氏者河北郡人也。在戍未幾便喪。櫬柩至、陳望而哀慟一哭而卒。文帝詔表其閭. History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 91, l. 9.

» arms and carried her home; the old woman was still breathing, » but expired after an hour. The prefect Siao Ch'en assisted the » girl in the burial expenses and reported the matter to the Throne. » Thereupon a mark of distinction was affixed to her door and to » the gate of her village by order of the Emperor" [1].

Even *during* the T'ang dynasty such official commendations of the virtuous were affixed to village-gates. We read *e. g.* that »Kao » Ch'ung-wen's ancestors, who had removed from Puh-hai to Yiu- » cheu (province of Chihli), had not for seven generations lived » in separate dwellings, and their village-gate had therefore been » decorated more than once with a mark of distinction during the » Khai yuen period (713—741)" [2]. That, however, in the T'ang epoch special gates were built for displaying such decorations, follows from the following extract, which explicitly states that in the tenth century the erection of such monuments was considered an *old* institution. »In the first month of the fourth year of the » period T'ien fuh (A. D. 939), the Presidents of the Board of » Revenues memorialized the Throne because six generations of the » family of one Li Tszĕ-lun, who was a Secretary charged with the » control of public works in Shen-cheu (province of Chihli), all » dwelt together... The Emperor (Kao Tsu) decided that the village » Fei-t'o, where they lived, should henceforth be called: The Vil- » lage of Filial Devotion and Dutifulness, and that the name of » the ward in question, Kwang-shing, should be changed into Ward » of Humanity and Concord; moreover he granted a public mark » of distinction for their door and for the gates of their village. » In the ninth month, the said Board once more presented a » petition, of the following tenor: 'Ere now, when six generations » of Wang Chung-chao's dutiful family had dwelt together in Teng- » cheu, the public mark of distinction awarded to them was of the » following description: in front of the balustrades of their audience- » hall screening trees were arrayed; then came a gate just in the

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[1] 宣城宛陵有女子、與母同床寢。母爲猛虎所搏、女號叫挐虎、虎毛盡落、行十數里虎乃棄之。女抱母還、猶有氣、經時乃絶。太守蕭琛聞焉、表言其狀。有詔旌其門閭. Books of the Liang Dynasty, chapter 47, l. 2.

[2] 高崇文其先自渤海徙幽州、七世不異居、開元中再表其閭. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 170, l. 1.

» middle, adorned with heads of ravens, with a door of two » leaves; at a distance of twelve feet from the trees came two pillars » decorated with heads of ravens and with tubs of baked clay on » the top; a gate with two entrances, one chang of ten feet » broad, was erected, and at a distance of thirty-seven feet to » the south of the heads of the ravens Hwai trees and willows » were planted over a space of fifteen pu; — we humbly propose » that the same arrangements may be made in the present case (of » Li Tszĕ-lun)'. But the Emperor decided as follows: 'Though » things were thus arranged *in olden times*, the regulations which » are now in force take no note of them. In the grounds measured » out for the purpose the outer gate shall be built up to a greater » height, and on the right and the left of the wide-apart pillars on » which it rests a terrace shall be made, twelve feet high and square » in form, the length and breadth being equal. The two terraces » shall be covered with white plaster, and the four corners be red, » in order that those who are unfilial and undutiful may turn to » righteousness on beholding it, and change their conduct' " [1].

The Standard Histories of the Sung dynasty afford sufficient evidence that during the rule of this House it was quite customary to erect honorary gates for glorifying the virtuous. We read *e. g.*: » Kwoh I, a military man from Hing-hwa, when over forty years » old sojourned at Ts'ien-t'ang (in the province of Chehkiang). » Receiving the news that his mother had died, he hurried barefooted » to her mourning rites, vomiting blood at every fit of sorrow that » overcame him. As his family was extremely poor, some old friends

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[1] 天福四年正月尚書戶部奏、深州司功參軍李自倫六世同居...敕以所居飛鳧鄉爲孝義鄉、匡聖里爲仁和里、准式旌表門閭。九月戶部復奏、前登州義門王仲昭六世同居、其旌表有聽事步欄前列屏樹、烏頭正門閥閱、一丈二尺烏頭二柱、端冒以瓦桷、築雙闕一丈、在烏頭之南三丈七尺夾樹槐柳十有五步、請如之。敕曰、此故事也、今式無之。其量地之宜高其外門、門安綽楔左右建臺、高一丈二尺、廣狹方正稱焉。圬以白而赤其四角、使不孝不義者見之可以悛心而易行焉. History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 34, ll. 4 and 5.

» sent gifts to him; but he would accept nothing. He himself » collected the earth he needed for the grave hill, planted pines and » bamboo on the spot with his own hands, and lived in a shed » at the side of the grave. Mild dew trickled down upon the tomb, » and crows and magpies swarmed there without any signs of fear. » The prefect reported the matter to the Throne, upon which the » gate of his village was decorated with a mark of distinction » by Imperial order. In front of his dwelling an earthen terrace » was raised both to the right and the left of the wide-apart sup- » porting pillars (of the honorary gate); these terraces were twelve » feet high, square in shape and broader at the base than at » the top, and everything was embellished with white colours, » intermixed with red. The grounds were planted with such trees » as were deemed proper for the purpose" [1]. The following instance concerns one P^{c}ang T^{c}ien-yiu [2], a native of Kiang-ling [3] or the present King-cheu [4] in the province of Hupeh. Out of pure filial devotion he cut a piece of flesh out of his thigh and gave it to his sick father to eat as a medicine, and after the old man's death he himself carried the earth for the grave and settled there in a shed. In recognition of his filial conduct, » his house-door and the » gates of his village were decorated by Imperial decree with a » public distinction. His family not being so rich as to possess one » pecul of rice in their house and living, moreover, in a poor » lane, Yao-tszĕ (the magistrate who had proposed him to the » Throne for a reward) made him remove to the right side of the » village-gate, erected there a gate and affixed the mark of » distinction to it" [5].

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[1] 郭義與化軍人、年四十餘客錢塘。聞母喪、徒跣奔喪、每一慟輒嘔血。家貧甚、故人有所饋、不受。聚土爲墳、手蒔松竹、而廬于其旁。甘露降於墓上、烏鵲馴集。郡上其事、詔旌表其閭。於所居前安綽楔左右建土臺、高一丈二尺、方正、下廣、上狹、飾白間以赤。仍植所宜木. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 22.

[2] 龐天祐. [3] 江陵. [4] 荆州.

[5] 詔旌表門閭。天祐家無儲石儲、居委巷中、堯咨爲徙里門之右、築闕表之. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 10.

The extracts quoted seem to indicate that the erection of honorary gates was from the outset subject to imperial authorisation. But we have obtained no certainty about this from the native books at our disposal; moreover, decorations of doors and gates with laudatory inscriptions have, according to the books, even such as refer to the present dynasty, been conferred so often by provincial governors and prefects of departments or districts, that we have no reason to doubt that such rewarding of the meritorious and virtuous has always formed a part of the duties of their office. It is indeed highly probable that the emperors have always regarded themselves as morally obliged to entrust their stadtholders with the bestowal of such honorable distinctions, their great and holy ancestor Wu having set the example in respect of his minister, the ruler of Pih (see page 769). Now-a-days honorary gates can only be erected by a special order of the Son of Heaven. This rule seems to have come into force definitively during the reign of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, for we read: »In the » twenty-first year of the Hung wu period (1388), Jen Hung-t'ai » and others were placed at the top of the list of those who had » won the highest literary degree (tsin-shi) at the examinations » held at the Imperial Palace. He having distinguished himself » above all the others who obtained this degree, the Emperor » ordered the magistracy to commend him publicly by means of an » honorary chung-yuen gate[1]. From this case dates the erection » of honorary gates by Imperial decree"[2].

Honorary gates are denoted in the books by the character 坊, fang. This word had originally the meaning of locality, place or ward, the component parts of its written form being 土 »land, ground, country", and 方 »a region, a place". The signification of honorary gate it has probably obtained because it so frequently enters into the composition of the honorary inscriptions affixed over house-doors or village-gates. We read *e. g.* of the learned Chang Chi-hwo[3], who

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1 A chung-yuen is the primus of the successful candidates at the examinations for the rank of tsin-shi. Comp. page 792.

2 洪武二十一年廷試進士賜任亨泰等及第。出身有差、上命有司建狀元坊以旌之。聖旨建坊自此始, See »The General Account of the Ming period" 明通紀, *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 考工, chapter 74.

3 張志和.

Honorary Gate for a Literary Graduate of the Highest Rank.

LICHTDRUK VAN EMRIK & BINGER, HAARLEM.

lived in the eighth century, that the authorities »decorated his »dwelling with the honorary inscription: 'Place (fang) of the Pri»mary Principle' [1], and his door being narrow, some ground was »purchased in order to widen the entrance" [2]. It is stated also of one Lang Kien [3] that in the eleventh century »the gate of his »village was decorated by Sun Mien, the governor of Hang-cheu »(province of Chehkiang), with a board, bearing the inscription: »'Place (fang) where a virtuous long life is being lived'" [4]. A few score years later, the residence of Fan Ching-p'ing [5] was signalized by the authorities as »Place (fang) of fidelity and straightforwardness" [6], and so forth. The name fang, applied at first to localities having a gate over which an honorary inscription was affixed, was transferred in course of time to the gates themselves, when it had become the custom to erect them as special commemorative monuments. This will appear still more natural when we state that it is a peculiarity of the Chinese language to assimilate doors with dwellings, and gates with settlements. Indeed, 門 and 戶 mean a door as well as a house or family, and 閭 a village-gate as well as a village or hamlet.

In describing the honorary gates as they are at present to be seen by hundreds, nay thousands, throughout the Empire, we may be short, as the Plates XII (Frontispiece), XV, XVII and XIX will undoubtedly convey a better idea of them to our readers than any amount of writing could do. In the mountainous southern provinces by far the greater number are made entirely of granite-like solid stone, which is there very abundant and consequently comparatively cheap. But in the North, wherever natural stone is dear, they are often made of wood and do not look anything like so nice and attractive as those in the South, owing chiefly to the circumstance that wood is liable to decay quickly and the Chinese never keep

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1 He had written a famous treatise, entitled 元眞子, »The Philosopher of the Primary Principle".

2 表其居曰玄眞坊、以門隘爲買地、大其閎. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 196, l. 14.

3 郎簡.

4 孫沔知杭州榜其里門、曰德壽坊. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 299, l. 3.

5 范正平.

6 忠直坊. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 314, l. 29.

their edifices and buildings in good repair. Such a wooden monument is represented by Fig. 28. Stone being more durable than wood, it is self-evident that the greatest number of honorary

Fig. 28.

Honorary Gate of Wood at Peking.

gates, as well as the oldest, are to be found in the South. Many towns and their suburbs in the province of Fuhkien are literally studded with them.

As to their dimension, their height is on an average between that of a one-storied and a two-storied European house. Most of them consequently stand out considerably above the majority

of the surrounding dwellings. They are adorned with sundry figures, as with dragons sculptured in mezzo-relievo or alto-relievo on the cross-pieces which form the lintels; with lions squatted down on the tops of the low pillars which serve to strengthen the basement; on the roofs with images of men, and wide-mouthed gaping fishes curling their tails upwards. A gourd often crowns the top. Some monuments also display on the frieze relief figures, representing episodes in the life of the person commemorated, and in many cases these figures are open-worked, being cut right through the stone. Honorary gates cannot properly be said to have a reverse

Fig. 29.

Decorative Street Gate.

side, both façades being similarly worked. The roofs of those of stone consist of single solid blocks, carved out on the top to represent a layer of tiles.

A mere glance at our Plates will be sufficient to show that these commemorative structures have retained their character of gates in every respect. Gates in China are generally roofed and in

many cases have a smaller second roof, and sometimes even a third, smaller than the second, which gives to the whole a pagoda-like appearance; our readers may see this from Fig. 29, which is taken from a little decorative street-gate placed at the entrance of an open square in a town, and from Fig. 30, which is a

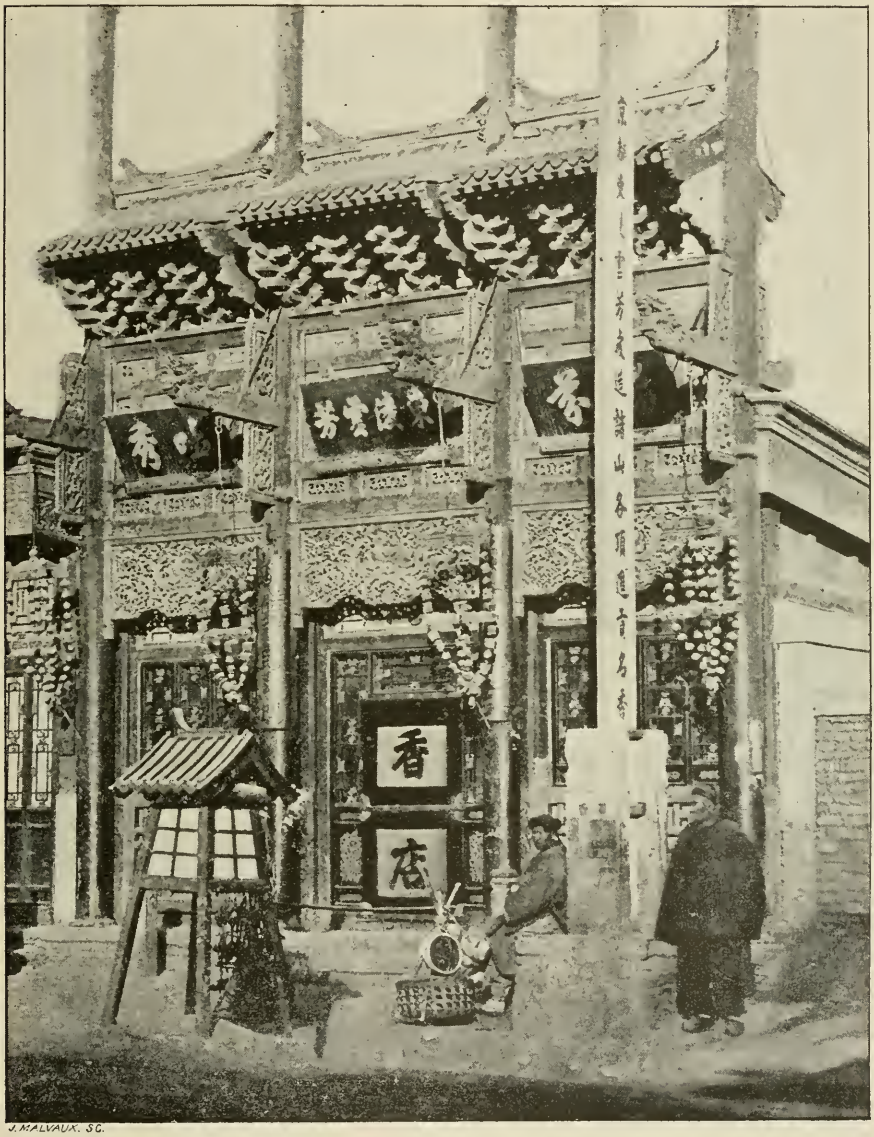
Fig. 30.

A City Gate.

sketch of an ordinary city-gate. The same is the case with honorary gates. The similarity between the two categories of buildings is not less brought out by the fact that many of the largest and finest honorary monuments are raised upon twelve pillars arranged in three parallel rows of four each, in the same way as roofed gates are built. In such cases, the pillars of the two outer

rows are generally thinner than the four middlemost pillars, which have to bear the greatest weight.

Fig. 31.

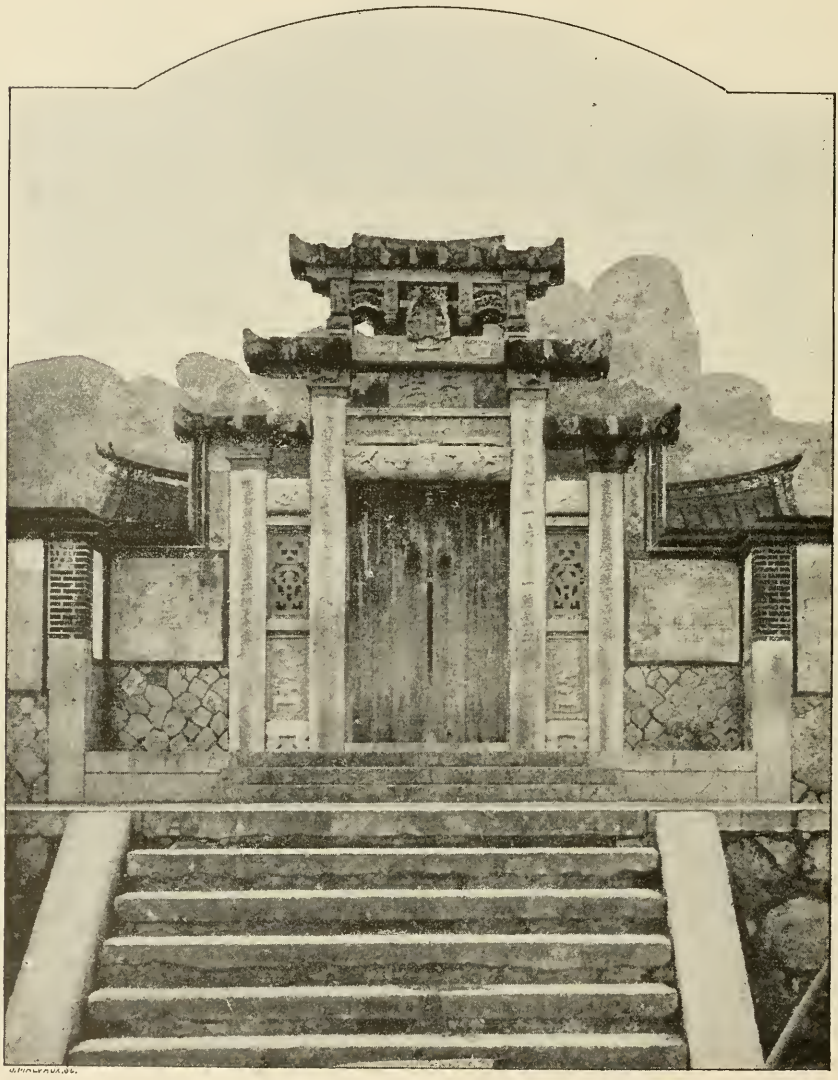


Decorative Gate of a Shop at Peking.

The similarity between honorary gates and gates proper appears even more striking, when we note that the latter, if built at the entrance to public edifices or large temples, generally have three

thoroughfares, viz. a large one in the middle, and two smaller ones to the right and left. The decorative gates of wood forming the front of large houses in Peking also resemble honorary gates so strikingly that they are easily mistaken for such monuments (comp. Fig. 31).

Fig. 32.

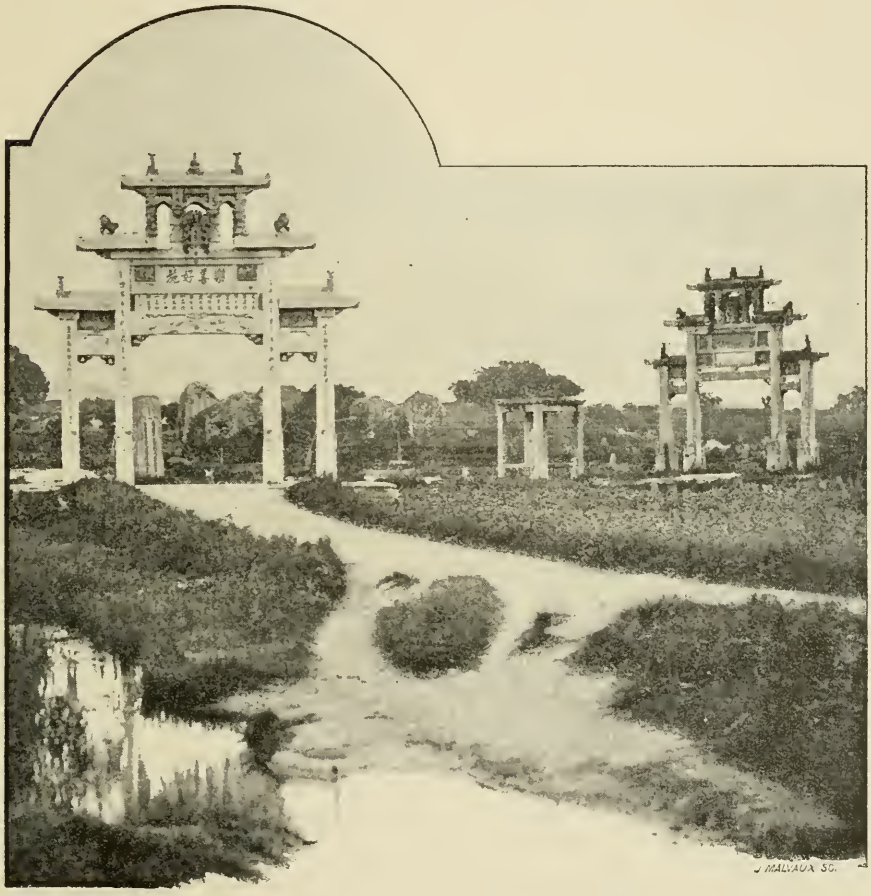


Honorary Gate in Front of a House.

No less than their form, do the places on which honorary gates are erected evince their ancient character of gates of mansions

and villages. In the first place, they often stand right in front of the dwellings of the persons whose conduct they are to blazon abroad, or are built into the front wall of the court-yard, thus virtually forming the chief entrance-gate to the premises (Fig. 32, and Plate XII). In the same position they adorn the approaches

Fig. 33.



Honorary Gates on the Highroad near a Town.

to some ancestral temples. In towns and large villages they generally stand conspicuously across the streets, compelling the pedestrian to pass between the pillars (see Plate XVII), thus by their location perfectly corresponding with certain gates [1] that mark the

1 Called 隘門.

boundaries of wards and are shut and guarded during the night to keep out thieves and robbers. Their ancient character of village-gates is also manifested by the fact that the approaches to towns and villages have always been looked upon as choice places on which to erect them. The suburbs of many a walled city are in the literal sense of the word studded with them, especially the road conducting to the gate; not unfrequently great numbers of them adorn the country outside the suburbs for a considerable distance, where they are either placed across the high road, or in the fields on both sides of it, so as to render them as conspicuous as possible to the passer-by.

It is a general custom in China to suspend over house-doors and gates a wooden board, carved with characters which designate the locality. Such sign boards are invariably affixed over the lintel of the middlemost or main thoroughfare. In quite a similar manner the honorary gates display a horizontal tablet, firmly inserted in the pillars and cross-pieces, and upon it a few big characters are carved, signifying the qualities or virtues for which the monument was raised, or some poetical allusion made thereto. It is on account of this board that the gates are generally styled p'ai-leu[1]: »storied edifices with an inscribed board", or p'ai-fang[2]: »honorary gates with an inscribed board". Over this inscription, a second tablet, placed perpendicularly underneath the highest roof, displays the characters 御旨: »By Imperial Decree", or 聖旨: »By Decree of the Holy One". This tablet, which is supported by a couple of carved dragons, the symbols of the blessed reign of the Son of Heaven, constitutes the real aureola of the monument, its core and focus, the pride and glory of the family. On gates erected for literary graduates it generally bears the characters 恩榮: »Glory conferred by (Imperial) favour". A third tablet, inserted horizontally over the dragon-carved lintel of the central thoroughfare, displays the names and titles of the person for whom the monument was erected and, in many instances, those of his sons and grandsons who built it for him; in the case of a woman, the names and titles of her husband are carved upon it as well as her own. It also sometimes bears the date of the erection. But all these particulars, and many more, are sometimes engraved on a separate vertical slab of granite, which is set up in a socket of the same

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[1] 牌樓. [2] 牌坊.

material at the foot of the monument. The inscriptions are placed on both façades of the gate, as well as the figures and ornaments. On both façades likewise, the two inner perpendicular pillars bear a eulogistic distich, a line on each pillar, and another distich adorns

Fig. 34.

Honorary Gate with two Pillars.

in a corresponding manner the two outer pillars. This poetry is mostly supplied to the family by the magistrates, sometimes even by the Governor of the province, and has to be paid for dearly in expensive presents. But such outlay is considered insignificant as compared with the honour of being able to boast for centuries

of those great men who have by their own hands and pencils assisted in the glorification of the family; their names and titles are carved in the stone under the distichs for that very purpose.

Not all honorary gates are raised on twelve or even four pillars. A good many have no more than two and, possessing only one or two stories, do not stand out above the surrounding dwellings. One of the simplest construction is represented by Fig. 34. It dates from 1630 or thereabout, and was seen by us in 1887 in the south of Fuhkien within the walls of the city of Chang-cheu-fu, in a vast plot covered with the ruins of one quarter of the town which was entirely laid waste either on the capture of the place by the T'ai p'ing rebels in October 1864, or on its re-capture by the Imperial troops in May of the following year, — the only structure which escaped destruction.

Both the size and beauty of an honorary gate depend as a rule upon the wealth of the family of the person for whom it is erected. The thirty taels of silver awarded for it out of the treasury form but a meagre subvention, hardly sufficient to pay for the foundation stone; this money is probably regarded merely as a subsidy for the stone tablet which bears the laudatory inscription. The costs of the monument have virtually to be borne by the family. If they are well-to-do, they are sure to spend much on its size and beauty and to inaugurate it with great solemnity. Mandarins are prevailed upon to honour the ceremony by their presence. These grandees assemble at the spot on an auspicious day carefully selected for the purpose and, in the presence of a large concourse of notables and kinsmen dressed in ceremonial attire, make prostrations before the monument, their condescension being afterwards rewarded by the family with rich presents which are sent to their mansions, and by festive meals to which they are invited with all the observances of etiquette.

Our readers will understand that the honorary gates have now become mere decorative gates, having positively lost their original character of barriers. It is highly probable that this change has to a great extent been wrought by the influence of a custom rather prevalent under the present dynasty, under the Ming dynasty, and perhaps under Houses even of earlier date, viz. that of erecting gates for mere decorative purposes at the entrance to public or official edifices and altars. Gates of this kind are likewise designated by the names of p'ai-leu and p'ai-fang, because they have over the middlemost thoroughfare a p'ai or tablet displaying the

Decorative Gate in the Hall of the Classics at Peking.

name of the edifice at the approach to which they are located, or the name of the approach itself. In the Imperial Metropolis in particular such decorative gates are numerous and well built. As a rule they are much larger and prettier than the honorary gates. A splendid specimen in wood, painted in variegated colours, with roofs of blue glazed tiles, forms the entrance to the »Street of the Gloriously Rising" [1], an avenue leading to the large Imperial altar of the Sun which is located outside the east gate of the Tatar city. It bears over the lintel the name of that street in Chinese and Manchu. Quite a similar structure stands in a corresponding position across the »Street of the Waxing Brightness" [2] or approach to the Imperial Moon-altar near the west gate of the same city. Such decorative gates also mark the outer limits of the five principal approaches to the southern court-yard of the Imperial Palace. Two of them, each with three thoroughfares, stand respectively to the east and west in the Ch'ang ngan street [3] which runs along the southern front wall of the Palace; two others of the same description stand in a corresponding position in the street which runs more to the south, parallel to the above, right past the T'ai ts'ing gate [4] or the southern gate of the court-yard; and the fifth, with five thoroughfares, is located just in front of the »Gate which faces due South" [5], that forms the central southern gate of the Tatar city and at the same time the extreme southern entrance to the Palace. In a similar way decorative gates are built over the street which runs past the temple of Confucius, and over that which passes the »Temple for the Worship of the Emperors and Kings of past Dynasties" [6]. Such a gate bears as a rule on its sign-board the name of the street over which it is built, or that of which it defines the limits. One of the most beautiful to be seen in China is that which stands in the court-yard of the famous Hall of the Classics in the north-eastern angle of the Tatar city (see Pl. XVIII). Its base and three archivaults are of magnesian limestone, beautifully carved; the whole of the upper part is made of yellow and blue glazed bricks, nicely moulded into the shape of square and round ornaments and forming a harmonious mixture of colours. Both façades are built and elaborated alike, which, as our readers know, is the case with p'ai-fang in general.

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1 景升街. 2 光恒街. 3 長安街.
4 太清門. 5 正陽門. 6 歷代帝王廟.

A very large decorative gate, dating from the year 1540, is located at the beginning of the avenue which leads to the mausolea of the emperors of the Ming dynasty. A picture of this monument, which is probably the most exquisite pʿai-fang now extant in China, illuminates the next Volume, where a description of it is given in our account of those mausolea. Of a similar monument which serves to decorate the sepulchre of Confucius, a sketch is given in Fig. 35. Pʿai-fang are consequently funereal monuments

Fig. 35.

Gate decorating the Mausoleum of Confucius.

as well, thus serving the double purpose of decorating the entrance to the tombs of persons of distinction, and of exalting their memory. Now-a-days they may be erected over the graves of certain female

Honorary Gate in Front of a Grave.

slaves and nuns who have fallen victims to their chastity, as our readers know from the Ordinances reproduced on pages 751 and 753. We have seen them sometimes over the graves of persons whom the Emperor had greatly distinguished by sending an emissary to present a sacrifice to their manes. They bore the inscription: »Burial Sacrifice conferred by the Emperor" [1]. Of one of these, located in the hills around the town of Amoy, a reproduction is given in Plate XIX. Permission to erect such honorary gates over graves was evidently a matter of frequent occurrence during the Ming dynasty, numerous instances of so-called »awarding public distinctions to tombs" [2] being recorded in the Standard Histories and local Memoirs of that period. The Histories inform us also that as early as the Wei dynasty, ere honorary gates had come into vogue, graves were decorated with honorary inscriptions by Imperial order, a case of this kind in connection with a certain chaste virgin of the name of Szĕ-sien [3] being therein recorded [4].

We must now define more precisely the position occupied in China by women glorified and commemorated by an honorary gate and a place in a sacrificial temple, by stating what other individuals are honoured in a similar manner by the now reigning dynasty. They may be conveniently arranged in the following order:

I. The so-called »Loyal Servants of the State" [5] who, together with their families, have fallen victims to the Imperial cause in times of war or rebellion. For such a group of persons one gate may be erected, exhibiting the names of them all, both males and females, and thirty taels of silver must be contributed for this purpose out of the public treasury. Soul tablets may also be put up for them in the official sanctuaries, those of the females in the local Temple for the Chaste and Filial Women mentioned on page 750, and those of the males in another edifice of a similar character, likewise located within the precincts of the Confucian temple and bearing the name of »Sacrificial Temple for those who have displayed Loyalty, Dutifulness, Filial Conduct, and Devotion and Submission to their Elder Brothers" [6]. Such a temple exists in the capital of every province, department and district, under the care

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1 欽賜祭葬. 2 表墓.
3 兒先.
4 Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 92, l. 5.
5 忠臣. 6 忠義孝弟祠.

of the authorities, who worship there on the same days and in the same manner as in the Temple for Chaste and Filial Women (comp. page 750). Soul tablets may be placed therein for mandarins also who have perished in the cause of the Throne, in case they have been esteemed worthy of admission as objects of worship to a certain government temple in Peking, called: »Sacrificial Temple for Loyalty manifested" [1]; further still for so-called »Dutiful Notables" [2]: members of the gentry or commoners who have sacrificed their lives in times of rebellion in the cause of the lawful government; finally for every male person who has excelled by filial conduct towards his parents and grandparents, and by submission and devotion to his elder brothers. For all women of whatever age or state who perish in times of war or trouble, one gate bearing the names of them all must be erected, by order of the Provincial Governor, in the district by the local magistracy, and be supported with thirty taels; and their soul tablets may be placed for worship in the Temple for Chaste and Filial Women.

II. »Officers of Repute" [3], who have deserved well of the people in their province; and

III. »Local Worthies" [4], viz. notables who have distinguished themselves by virtue and learning. Two temples dedicated to these two categories, officially and popularly styled »Temple for Officers of Repute" [5] and »Temple for Local Worthies" [6], exist under the care of the authorities in the capital of each province, department and district, likewise in the vicinity of the temple dedicated to Confucius. Worship is performed there officially on the same days and in the same wise as in the two temples before-mentioned. Candidates for admission must be proposed to the Board of Rites by the highest provincial authorities, and by this Board to the Throne, just as in the case of chaste and filial women (see page 752). Honorary gates are not awarded to persons falling under these two categories.

IV. »Those who have found pleasure in works of benevolence and taken delight in distributing gifts" [7], to wit, notables or commoners who have bestowed food and alms upon widows, orphans and paupers, or contributed considerable sums to the support of their

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[1] 昭忠祠. [2] 義士. [3] 名宦.
[4] 鄉賢. [5] 名宦祠.
[6] 鄉賢祠. [7] 樂善好施.

clansmen and modest poor people, or have subsidized the repair or renewal of public buildings, bridges, roads or graves, as also those who have provided a decent burial for large numbers of human remains; and so forth. The souls of such benefactors of mankind are not admitted into any official temples, but honorary gates can be awarded them by Imperial decree with a subsidy of thirty taels, if the sum spent in deeds of charity has amounted to a thousand taels or more. If the sum was not so large as this, a board bearing the inscription: »For finding pleasure in good works and taking delight in distributing gifts" [1] is granted by the Emperor, to be exhibited over the door of their house.

V. An honorary gate can be granted to any family the members of which have lived in perfect harmony for a certain number of generations — generally four or five — without any of them having seceded from the common stock. Their names may be recorded also on a large stone slab in the Temple for the Loyal, Dutiful, Filial and Fraternal (see sub I), which exhibits the names of all those worshipped in the building. The Emperor may also confer upon such families the tablet with a laudatory inscription, which is to be placed over the honorary gate or over the house-door. On page 772 it has been stated that such inscriptions used to be awarded to excellent families of this kind already more than fourteen hundred years ago.

VI. Persons who have reached a hundred years of age and upwards, are also entitled to an honorary gate and to a model for a eulogistic inscription. The usual subvention of thirty taels is doubled for persons of one hundred and ten years, and tripled for those of one hundred and twenty; for a higher age it is fixed by the Emperor by special decree [2]. If such an old man or woman

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[1] 樂善好施.

[2] Cases are officially reported of such extra gifts having been awarded at incredible ages. In the Code of Laws (chapter 8, l. 50) we read of one T'ang Yun-shan 湯雲山 in the district of Kiang-hia 江夏 in Hupeh, who in 1736 was granted a sum of 120 taels at the age of one hundred and thirty-one, with an additional present of ten taels and a piece of silk cloth. Ten years afterwards he was still alive and received by Imperial command another fifty taels and five pieces of silk. The *Wu hioh luh* (chapter 3, l. 16) makes mention of a certain Lan Siang 藍祥 of the district of I-shan 宜山 in Kwangsi province, who was endowed in 1810, at the age of one hundred and forty-two years, with two hundred taels, five pieces of silk, a laudatory verse to be exhibited on an honorary board, and the titulary dignity of mandarin of the sixth rank.

have lived with five generations of descendants, an extra gift of ten taels with a piece of silk is awarded [1].

VII. Honorary gates may be erected also for literary graduates of the third or highest rank, or so-called tsin-shi [2] (see Plate XVII). This degree is obtained at Peking, at triennial competitive examinations, by a few hundreds of graduates of the second degree, or so-called kü-jen [3], many thousands of whom assemble for that purpose from all the provinces. We have also seen many gates which had been raised in honour of kü-jen. But the erection of such monuments has probably been subject to many restrictions, otherwise the soil of the Empire would be literally studded with them in all directions, as each province produces large numbers of such graduates once every three years at the examinations held in the provincial capitals. In various parts of the Realm are to be seen also gates for tsin-shi and kü-jen of the Ming dynasty in considerable numbers. The local Memoirs even mention gates erected for literati of the two highest ranks during the Sung dynasty; and if we take into consideration that already under the House of T'ang it was customary for the authorities to decorate the house-doors of scholars of renown, the case of Chang Chi-hwo, mentioned on page 777, exemplifying this, we may conclude that honorary gates for learned men have existed in China ever since the erection of such commemorative structures came into vogue.

If, after this enumeration, we consider that widowed wives and brides who have lost their lives in preserving their chastity, are, in the cases specified on page 751, entitled to both an honorary gate and a place in a temple of the State as an object of worship, we arrive at the conclusion that they are on a parallel in Government estimation with mandarins, mandarins' kinspeople and ordinary women, who have perished in the cause of the Throne (comp. I), and also on a par with such high literary graduates (comp. VII) as have obtained a place in a Temple for Officers of Repute or for Local Worthies mentioned sub II and III, as is undoubtedly the case with many, if not all of them. All the other categories come after such women. It is remarkable that this is also the case

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1 The above particulars have been carefully gleaned, nay copied almost verbally, from the *Wu hioh luh*, chapter III, l. 12 *sqq.*, which work borrowed them from the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien*. The information contained sub VI is also to be found in the Code of Laws, chapter 8, ll. 50 and 51.

2 進士. 3 舉人.

with the devotees of filial devotion, notwithstanding this virtue is recognized by the present dynasty, as well as by all previously seated on the throne, as being the sublimest duty of the nation. No honorary gate is awarded for it, only a place in a Temple for Loyalty, Dutifulness, Filial Conduct, and Submission and Devotion to Elder Brothers, or, in the case of a woman, in a Temple for the Chaste and Filial. This compels us to the conclusion that the Government considers hiao to be a virtue so instinctively bound up with human nature, that its observance becomes a matter of course, and does not require rewards of the highest order. Its non-observance is a serious crime, and its observance a natural duty. Even the female sex who combine hiao with life-long virginity, receive no higher reward. The Statutory Ordinances have: »When a filial daughter whose parents have neither son nor »grandson, serves them till their death, remaining unmarried for »that purpose, she shall come under the ordinances which refer »to filial sons" [1].

Under previous dynasties, however, the magnifying of filial devotion by means of honorary gates was of frequent occurrence. We find numerous instances on record of such monuments being awarded to children who had saved their father or mother from a great danger at the peril or the cost of their own lives; — to spinsters and widows who worked hard for the maintenance of their parents or parents-in-law, obstinately refusing to marry or re-marry, lest they should be compelled to abandon those relations, going so far even as to cut off their hair, in order to avoid all marriage-proposals; — to children who, in order to cure their sick parents or parents-in-law, gave them to eat, properly roasted, boiled, or otherwise prepared, a piece of their own flesh from the thigh, buttock, breast or arm, or a finger, or a dose of their blood, etc. etc. Such fanatic self-mutilation was publicly discountenanced in 1729 by an emperor of the present dynasty (see page 747), and is expressly declared by the present institutions of the State not to entitle anybody to a public distinction (page 751). Still it is not improbable that honorary gates are awarded now and then to pre-eminent models of perfection among the devotees of the great national virtue.

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[1] 孝女以父母未有子孫、終身奉親不嫁者、如孝子例. *Wu hioh luh*, chapter 3, l. 10.

In conclusion, we must call attention to the fact that the method of glorifying the meritorious and virtuous by honorary gates and admission into official temples, is immediately connected with the fundamental principles of government which were anciently preached by The Great Tradition and still form at the present day the substratum of the Imperial policy. That part of this interesting document in which those principles are summarized, has been reproduced on page 540. On perusing it, we see that the distinctions awarded to chaste and devoted wives and to persons who have displayed submission and devotion to their chief senior relatives, correspond with the first and greatest principle, viz. »the regulating of the relationship to grandparents and ancestors and between family-members reciprocally". Those granted to clans who live together for many generations, serve to realize the second principle, namely »regulating the bonds of kinship by making all the living members of the clan take their meals together". The public distinctions awarded to mandarins of merit and to graduates who, by winning the highest literary degrees, prove themselves fit to be called to high offices, are allied with the principle of »rewarding meritorious servants of the State, raising capable men to office and appointing for the public service the able and influential". Finally, the honorary gates granted to philanthropists for their good works to the people answer to the principle of »showing appreciation of those who manifest love towards mankind".

2. On the Custom of Dwelling upon Tombs.

The ancient Chinese principle that women, children, subjects and slaves, as being the absolute property of their husbands, parents and masters, ought not to be separated from them at death, has powerfully operated upon the nation in many respects. It created and long maintained the immolation of human beings at burials, and when this barbarous practice gradually disappeared under the influence of growing culture, upheld for a long series of ages a systematic suicidism, highly approved of by the people and publicly panegyrized by the Government. Still, step by step its power over the people relaxed, and the principle would have tottered to its downfall, had it not assumed a milder form, less repulsive to the softened habits of the nation. It no longer forced the nearest

relations and slaves to enter the grave with the dead, but suffered them simply to settle on the tombs, there to sacrifice regularly to the manes and, in the case of women, to avoid becoming the property of another by second marriage. This modified form of the ancient immolations — we may call it semi-sutteeism — must now be reviewed with the help of extracts from the native literature.

As the immediate consequence of the reaction against placing human victims in the graves, dwelling upon tombs is first mentioned in the native books after that reaction had gained a considerable footing. Indeed, the first instance on record dates from the fifth century before our era, and bears reference to Confucius, who, as our readers will see from pp. 807 and 808, was a great antagonist of human immolations. »Formerly", thus Mencius relates, »when Confucius had »died and the three years of mourning were elapsed, his disciples »packed up their luggage, intending to go home. On entering to »take leave of Tszĕ-kung (their fellow disciple), they faced each other »and wailed till all of them had lost their voices, and thereupon »returned to their several homes. Tszĕ-kung, however, returned (to the »tomb) and built a dwelling within its precincts, where he lived »alone for another three years before returning home" [1]. Commentators generally infer from this extract that the disciples had lived on the grave for three years when Tszĕ-kung, who had conducted the mourning observances as master of ceremonies, settled there once more for the same length of time. In another book of more recent date the same episode is related in the following words: »The disciples all housed upon the tomb, observing there the cere»monies connected with the mourning of the heart.... When »twenty-three of the disciples had finished their three years' mourn»ing for the Sage, some of them still remained on the spot, but »others left it, and the only one who dwelt on the tomb for six »years was Tszĕ-kung. Since that time, the disciples and natives of »the state of Lu who have established themselves on the grave »as if it were their homestead, have increased to over one hundred

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[1] 昔者孔子沒、三年之外門人治任將歸。入揖於子貢、相嚮而哭皆失聲、然後歸。子貢反、築室於場、獨居三年、然後歸. The Works of Mencius, section 滕文公, I.

» families, and hence that settlement bears the name of the Village » of the family Khung" [1].

During the Han dynasty, the custom of dwelling upon the graves extended to considerable proportions. This coincides remarkably with the circumstance that, as stated on page 730, human sacrifices at burials were then greatly reduced in numbers, no cases being mentioned in the contemporary records. When an emperor was committed to his grave, thus say the Standard Annals of those times, the highest ladies of the back palace and those who stood most in favour with the monarch, all settled in his mausoleum-grounds as warders of the park and the grave hill. And on the mausoleum of an empress there were abodes for lady-chieftains of the seraglio and for ladies of lower rank, which were assigned as a mark of favour to female dignitaries of merit among the relatives of the defunct (see page 406). Accordingly, it was a distinction to be allowed to live there, just as it had formerly been looked upon as a favour and an honour to follow one's sovereign into his grave. An other direct reference to the custom in question we find in the Histories of that epoch in the following words: »In the fourth year » of the period Yung shi (13 B. C.) the Emperor caused those » wives who had borne no children to leave the Tu mausoleum » (of the emperor Suen who had died twenty-five years before), and » sent them home" [2].

Under the same dynasty, the custom also prevailed in the case of magnates and grandees. We read that on the death of Hwoh Kwang, the minister mentioned on page 410, »freemen, slave- » women and concubines were concealed in his grave-grounds, in » order to take care of it" [3]. In the Standard Histories of those times numerous cases are recorded of people of good family and members of the lower classes who voluntarily settled on the graves of their parents or husbands. Li Siün in the first century of our era lived on a grave for many years (page 464); in the second century, Chao Suen

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1 弟子皆家于墓、行心喪之禮。。。二三子三年喪畢、或留、或去、惟子貢廬於墓六年。自後群弟子及魯人處墓如家者百有餘家、因名其居曰孔里焉. The Domestic Discourses of Confucius, chapter 9, § 終記解.

2 永始四年出杜陵諸未嘗御者、歸家. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 10, l. 13.

3 而幽良人婢妾守之. The same work, chapter 68, l. 14.

made his dwelling in the passage which formed the entrance to the grave of his parents (page 611), thus burying himself with them without sacrificing his life; and Cheu P'an, the man mentioned on page 414, about the same time »lived in a shed at the side »of the grave when his mother had died, even after the time of »mourning had elapsed" [1]. Many other examples of this kind lie before us; but it is unnecessary to quote more.

In the four centuries which lie between the Han dynasty and that of T'ang, cases of devout relatives dwelling upon the tombs of their parents or husbands continue to abound in the books. On page 465 our readers have already had one instance concerning the grandee Yü Kwun. Of the filial Hü Tszĕ, mentioned on page 457, we read: »When he had finished the great work (viz. the »tomb of his parents), he abandoned his wife, settled on the »grave to watch and guard it, and planted rows of pines and »cypresses thereon. After more than twenty years he married »again, built a house on the grave and served his dead parents »with great ardour morning and evening, as he would have done »had they been alive" [2]. Wang P'eu [3], said to have been a giant of eight feet four, »lived in a hut close to (his father's) grave and »resorted to the tomb regularly every morning and evening to »make bows and prostrations; pressing the cypresses to his bosom, »he wailed so bitterly that the tears which trickled down upon »those trees caused them to wither.... And Hia Fang, otherwise »called Wen-ching, a native of Yung-hing in Hwui-khi (Chehkiang »province), lost his parents and paternal uncles successively, thirteen »persons in all, in consequence of an epidemic, when he was in »the fourteenth year of his age. His nights he spent in wailing »and lamenting, his days in carrying earth, seventeen shoulder-»loads daily; and when he had accomplished the burials he settled »in a shed on the border of the sepulchral ground and planted pines »and cypresses upon it" [4]. Towards the end of the fifth century, »a

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1 及母歿服終遂廬于冢側. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 69, l. 15.

2 孜以方營大功乃棄其妻、鎮宿墓所、列植松栢。積二十餘年孜乃更娶妻、立宅墓次、烝烝朝夕奉亡如存. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 88, l. 7.

3 王裒.

4 廬于墓側、旦夕常至墓所拜跪、攀柏悲號、

» man bearing the surname Ch'en, who lived in Hwui-khi, had » only three daughters, but no sons. Their grandparents having » died suddenly one after another, the girls themselves made their » bodies ready for the grave and buried them, after which they » built a shed on the boundaries of the spot and established them- » selves therein" [1]. The case of the magnate Chen Ch'en, who in the sixth century settled upon his father's grave together with his brother, has been mentioned already on page 465.

The practices thus exemplified by these many instances taken from the best historical sources, instances which might be doubled did space permit, have by no means fallen into disuse in later times. Many cases are on record in works dealing with the period when the T'ang dynasty ruled the Empire. Two of these, relating to the maiden Li and the grandee Ch'u Wu-liang respectively, have been given on pages 466 and 467. We read also that the » con- » cubine Wei-hien of the emperor Teh Tsung on the death of the » latter requested to be allowed to spend the period of mourning in » his Ch'ung mausoleum, and there waited upon his manes in the » park of the soul temple" [2]. In the tenth century, the emperor T'ai Tsu of the Later Cheu dynasty explicitly declared in his last will that » he desired no inmates of the Palace to live upon his mausoleum as warders" [3]. In spite of the good example thus set by him, empress-dowagers during the Sung dynasty were permitted to devote themselves on the mausolea to the manes of their consorts, it being on record that the empress Ch'en Khin-tszĕ [4] »on the death of the

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涕淚著樹、樹爲之枯。。。夏方、字文正、會稽永興人也、家遭疫癘、父母伯叔群從死者十三人、方年十四。夜則號哭、晝則負土十有七載、葬送得畢、因廬于墓側、種植松柏. *Op. cit.*, chapter 88, l. 5.

1 會稽人陳氏有三女無男。祖父母尋相繼卒、三女自營殯葬、爲菴舍墓側. Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, chapter 55, l. 4.

2 德宗韋賢妃及德宗崩請於崇陵終喪紀、因侍於寢園. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 52, l. 12.

3 不要守陵宮人. Old History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 113, l. 7. Compare pp. 732 and 815.

4 陳欽慈.

» emperor charged herself with the care of his temple and mauso-
» leum, and grew so lean and emaciated by pondering upon the
» favours he had formerly bestowed upon her, that her bones be-
» came visible. Her attendants brought her rice gruel and medicine,
» but she declined these things and ordered them to go away, saying:
» 'To be allowed to attend upon the wishes and desires of the late
» Emperor is enough for me'. Shortly afterwards she breathed her
» last, at the age of thirty-two" [1]. In a collection of miscellaneous jottings, entitled *Lan chen tszĕ*[2] and written in the twelfth century by Ma Yung-khing[3], it is stated that the dwelling of widowed consorts upon the imperial mausolea »had been imitated (since the Han » dynasty) by succeeding generations without modification, and that » there existed a piece of poetry by Poh Loh-t'ien on the subject » of the concubines of the mausolea, which touched the heart of » the reader" [4].

Dwelling upon the tombs of parents and husbands was as much in vogue during the Sung dynasty as it had ever been. The works of the time contain numerous cases; in the Official Histories of the dynasty alone we have found a dozen, and several may have escaped our notice. Three have been quoted in this work on page 458; the last, relating to Ch'en Suen, is especially worthy of attention, as showing us a man who dwelt *inside* his mother's grave, being himself partly buried with her, thus setting an example of semi-sutteeism, like Chao Suen of the Han dynasty (page 797). Many instances represent such devotees to the manes of their dead as capable of defying the colds and snows of winter, robbers, tigers and wolves. It is related how wild beasts, held in restraint by the unseen powers, or over-awed by such a display of virtue, refrained from doing them any harm. Residing upon the graves seems to have been, as a rule, extended to the end of the

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1 帝崩守陵殿、思顧舊恩毀瘠骨立。左右進粥藥、揮使去、曰、得早侍先帝願足矣。未幾薨、年三十二. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 243, l. 3.

2 嬾眞子.

3 馬永卿.

4 後世因之、遂不復變、白樂天有園陵妾詩、讀者傷之. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 禮儀, chapter 103.

three years' mourning, and the time was, as our readers know from the quotations, in many cases chiefly spent in personally raising the tumulus.

A goodly number of persons who dwelt upon the graves of their parents or husbands are on record also in the works of the Yuen dynasty; suffice it to refer our readers to Khung Ts'uen, mentioned on page 458. Under the rule of the House of Ming there are still numerous instances. A perusal of the »Traditions on Filial and Dutiful Persons" [1], contained in chapters 296 and 297 of the Official History of that dynasty, teaches us that such exemplary children and wives were then very often rewarded by the authorities, and even by the Emperor, with laudatory inscriptions for their house-doors or with honorary gates.

Whether the custom of dwelling upon graves still obtains at the present day, we cannot vouch for. Considering how deeply it has rooted itself into the habits of the nation from early ages, we may venture to presume it has not yet died out; but during our long stay in China we have never met with a single instance, nor even heard of such an occurrence. It may possibly have been superseded by the custom, treated of on pages 27 and 114, of sleeping or keeping watch by the side of the corpse or the coffin in the house, previous to the burial. This custom is mentioned already in works of the Ming dynasty among the meritorious practices observed by devotees of filial piety and conjugal attachment.

3. On Burying Deceased Wives in the Tombs of their Pre-deceased Husbands. — Marriages after Death.

The reaction created in China by advancing civilisation against the vestiges of ancient barbarism, has modified the old custom of immolating human victims at burials in another respect. It has induced the people to postpone the burying of women in the tombs of their husbands until these women themselves have lived out their natural lives. Little sophistry was needed to convince the people that, by thus modifying the human immolations, the interests of the dead would be but little affected. They would only

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[1] 孝義傳.

have to wait somewhat longer for the delivery of their property in the next world. The modified custom met with the full approval of sages and philosophers, nearly all of whom had joined the antagonists of the ancient immolations, and it became unnecessary to discard the time-honoured custom when divested of its original cruelty.

The burying of women after their death by the side of their pre-deceased husbands obtained as a custom already in the most ancient times of which Chinese writings make mention. The *Shi king* contains a piece of poetry, generally believed to date from the eighth century before our era, which calls up before us a woman yearning for the return of the goodman of her heart and pouring out her feelings in the following words: »In life I dwell in a different house, but in death we shall share the same grave" [1]. In the same ancient work there is the following funeral dirge of a woman bewailing her husband: »O! should it be after a hundred years » with their long winter-nights and their lengthy summer-days, yet » in the end I shall be moved to his (underground) dwelling place" [2]. It is reported that Confucius buried his mother in the same grave to which his father had formerly been committed: »As Confucius » was still young when his father died", thus we read in the *Li ki* (ch. 9, l. 21), »he did not know where the grave was. When he » was performing in the streets of Wu-fu his mother's temporary » burial (in the house), the people who witnessed his doings all » thought he was definitively placing her in her grave, such was the » care he bestowed upon the work; and yet it was only the pro- » visory burial. After having obtained some information in Liao from » the mother of a certain Man-fu, he discovered the grave (of his » father), and then buried his mother also therein, at Fang" [3]. Elsewhere in the same work (ch. 14, l. 46) Confucius is stated to have said: »The people of Wei, when burying husband and wife in the » same grave, leave a space between the corpses; but the best manner

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1 穀則異室、死則同穴. Section 王詩, ode 9.

2 冬之夜、夏之日、百歲之後、歸于其室. Section 唐詩, ode 11.

3 孔子少孤、不知其墓。殯於五父之衢、人之見之者皆以爲葬也、其愼也、蓋殯也。問於鄹曼父之母、然後得、合葬於防. Section 檀弓, I, 1.

»is to lay them close together, as the inhabitants of the state of »Lu are wont to do" [1].

This last citation shows that the practice in question was denoted in pre-Christian ages by a special graphic sign, viz. 祔. This in itself is a proof that burying wives in the graves of their husbands was widely extended in those times. The said character has been used with the same meaning ever since in the books, though frequently with the affix 葬, tsang, which means »to bury" (see page 361). The binomium hoh tsang, »to bury unitedly", which is used in the above citation referring to the parents of Confucius, is of no less frequent occurrence in the native literature of all ages (comp. page 443).

The books of the Empire literally abound with passages which show that re-uniting women with their pre-deceased husbands in the grave has constantly prevailed in China as a regular custom. We shall therefore refrain from quoting citations to prove this fact. That burying empresses and other inmates of the seraglio in the imperial mausolea has likewise been in vogue under all the principal dynasties, has been stated on pages 443 *et sqq*. Now-a-days the custom of burying wives at the side of their husbands is generally prevalent among the well-to-do who can afford to buy ground for double graves; but particulars on this head we reserve for chapter XIV.

Human immolations at burials naturally imply the prevalence of a conception that it is urgently necessary to be accompanied into the next life by a wife or concubines, to prevent one's being doomed there to the dreary life of a solitary widower. Consequently, it is only natural that in ancient China there existed the curious custom of placing deceased females in the tombs of lads who died before they were married. The prevalence in those times of such *post-mortem* weddings for the next world is revealed to us by the following passage in the *Cheu li*: »The Officer charged with the »Preparation of Marriages is to prevent women already buried »from being transferred to other tombs, to be thus given in mar»riage to deceased minor youths" [2]. The legislators of the time, disliking the sacrilegious removal of women from their graves, deemed

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[1] 孔子曰、衛人之祔也離之、魯人之祔也合之、善夫. The same section, II, 3.

[2] 媒氏禁遷葬者與嫁殤者. Chapter 13, l. 46.

themselves in duty bound to forbid the practice in question; but they do not appear to have included in their Veto such marrying of deceased women at the time of their burial. The latter weddings may a fortiori be supposed to have been very common; and that they were firmly rooted in the then customs and manners of the people may be inferred from the fact that they have prevailed ever since, being frequently mentioned in the books of all ages. This point is of sufficient interest to deserve illustration by a short series of quotations.

In the Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms we read: »The daughter » of Ping Yuen died when still young, at the same time as Ts'ang- » shu, the favourite son of the emperor T'ai Tsu (A. D. 220—227), » breathed his last. The Emperor tried to have them buried in » the same grave, but Yuen refused his consent, saying that such » burials were not recognized by the laws of morals [1]. Therefore the » prince was betrothed to a deceased daughter of the family Chen, » and she was placed with him in the same grave. And when Shuh, » the young daughter of the emperor Ming of the same dynasty » (A. D. 227—239), had died, he buried together with her one Hwang, » a grandson of the brother of the empress Chen, conferred the » posthumous title of Imperial Prince upon him, and appointed for » him a Continuator with the hereditary rank of a noble" [2]. This event becomes all the more curious when we are told that this Hwang was a mere baby. It is in fact stated in the Standard Annals of that time that the magnate Ch'en Khiün [3] rebuked the emperor for having the obsequies of this child, though not a year old, conducted with the same ceremonies as appertained to up-grown people [4]. *Post-mortem* marriages in those times being concluded even in the Imperial family, and between infants so very young, we may safely draw the conclusion that they were the order of the day between adults among the people.

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1 邴原女早亡、時太祖愛子倉舒亦沒。太祖欲求合葬、原辭曰、合葬非禮也. The Memoirs of Wei, chapter 11, ll. 17 and 18.

2 然終聘甄氏亡女與合葬。魏明帝幼女淑卒、取甄后從孫黃與之合葬、追封黃爲列侯、爲之置後襲爵. *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 31, l. 5.

3 陳群.

4 See the Memoirs of Wei, chapter 22, l. 5.

To convince our readers that such marriages were of frequent occurrence in ensuing ages, we need not make a large number of quotations. A couple of instances, drawn from the Imperial court-life, will suffice. »P'ing-ch'ing, son of Muh Ch'ung, died when »he was still young. During the reign of Hiao Wen (A. D. 471—»499), the Imperial princess Shi-p'ing died in the Palace. The »posthumous dignity of Prince Consort was then conferred upon »P'ing-ch'ing, and he was united with the princess in marriage »for the World of Shades" [1]. Three centuries afterwards, »the »Imperial concubine Wei caused her deceased younger brother »Siün, after the dignity of Prince of Jü-nan had been conferred »upon him, to be united in marriage for the next life with a »deceased daughter of (Siao) Chi-chung, and she had them buried »together in one grave. But after this lady Wei had been defeated »(in an attempt to usurp the throne), Chi-chung opened the grave, »took his daughter's coffin out of it and brought it home" [2], thus showing that the ties of relationship with a traitress to the cause of lawful government were cut off by him.

An interesting account of the manner in which such *post-mortem* marriages were concluded at the period when the Sung dynasty governed the Empire, is given by a contemporary work in the following words: »In the northern parts of the Realm it is cus-»tomary, when an unmarried youth and an unmarried girl breathe »their last, that the two families each charge a match-maker to »demand the other party in marriage. Such go-betweens are called: »match-makers for disembodied souls. They acquaint the two fami-»lies with each other's circumstances, and then cast lots for the »marriage by order of the parents on both sides. If they augur »that the union will be a happy one, (wedding) garments for the »next world are cut out and the match-makers repair to the grave »of the lad, there to set out wine and fruit for the consummation »of the marriage. Two seats are placed side by side, and a small »streamer is set up near each seat. If these streamers move a

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[1] 穆崇子平城早卒。孝文時始平公主薨於宮。追贈平城駙馬都尉、與公主冥婚. History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 20, l. 15.

[2] 韋庶人又爲亡弟贈汝南王洵與至忠亡女爲冥婚合葬。及韋氏敗、至忠發墓、持其女柩歸. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 92, l. 27. Also the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 123, l. 6.

» little after the libation has been performed, the souls are be-
» lieved to approach each other; but if one of them does not
» move, the party represented thereby is considered to disapprove
» of the marriage. Each family has to reward its match-maker with
» a present of woven stuffs. Such go-betweens make a regular liveli-
» hood out of these proceedings"[1]. Concerning wedding tables for the living we refer our readers to page 763, and streamers and banners which harbour human souls have been described on pages 125 and 174.

The following instance of a marriage between deceased persons, which occurred in the fourteenth century, must not be passed unnoticed, because it proves more clearly than any other case on record that in times relatively modern the old conception still obtained that a wife's place is at the side of her deceased husband in the life hereafter, and that she may not suffer another woman to occupy her place there. »Madam Yang was a native of Sü-ch'ing
» in Tung-p'ing (province of Shantung). Her husband Kwoh San
» marched off for Siang-yang with the army, and she, being left
» behind, served her parents-in-law so perfectly that she obtained
» a great repute for filial devotion. In the sixth year of the period
» Chi yuen (A. D. 1340) her husband died in his garrison. Then
» her own mother laid schemes for taking her home and marrying
» her again, but, bitterly wailing, she took such an oath that
» these schemes were not carried out. After some time, when the
» mortal remains of her husband were brought home, her father-
» in-law said: 'She, having been married to him only a short
» time and being still young, will certainly marry again in the
» end; ought I to leave my son under the ground in a state of
» loneliness?' But when he was on the point of requesting a fellow
» villager to give him the bones of his deceased daughter, that he
» might bury them in the same grave with his son, Madam Yang

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[1] 北俗男女未婚而死者、兩家命媒而求之。謂之鬼媒人。通家狀、各以父母命卜之。得吉卽製冥衣、媒者就男墓、設酒果以合婚。二座相並、各立一小幡。奠畢、二幡微動、若相就、其有不動者則以爲不喜也。兩家各以幣帛酬鬼媒。鬼媒常藉此自給. The *Tsoh mung luh*, 昨夢錄, by Khang Yü-chi 康譽之; *ap. Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 31, l. 6.

» being informed of his project became still more overwhelmed by » grief, and refused all food. Five days afterwards she hung herself, » upon which she was buried with her husband in the same grave" [1].

Such posthumous marriages are peculiarly interesting as showing that the almost unlimited power of parents in choosing wives or husbands for their children does not cease to exist even when the latter have been removed to the Realms of Death, so that in fact children are there subject to the will of their parents. They further prove how faint the line of demarcation between the living and the dead is in China, even if it exist at all.

Yang Yung-siu [2], an author who lived under the Ming dynasty, asserts that the custom of uniting dead persons in marriage was prevalent in his time. »Now-a-days", he writes, »it is still prac- » tised among the people, and it is not forbidden by anybody or » anything. Consequently, such marriages must have prevailed under » former dynasties" [3]. Whether the custom still exists at the present time we are not able to say, as no case has come under our notice whilst in China. But, considering that it has flourished for so many ages, we can scarcely believe it has entirely died out even now.

4. On Burying Human Effigies with the Dead and Placing Stone Images upon the Tombs.

As our readers know, the Chinese at an early period of their history replaced the articles of value and domestic appliances which they had been accustomed to bury with the dead, by less valuable and even worthless things (pp. 706 *et sqq.*). From the same early times

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[1] 楊氏東平須城人。夫郭三從軍襄陽、楊氏留、事舅姑、以孝聞。至元六年夫死戍所。母欲奪嫁之、楊氏號痛自誓、乃已。久之夫骨還、舅曰、新婦年少、終必他適、可令吾子鰥處地下耶。將求里人亡女骨合葬之、楊氏聞、益悲、不食。五日自經死、遂與夫共葬焉. History of the Yuen Dynasty, chapter 200, l. 3.

[2] 楊用修.

[3] 今民間猶有行焉、而無禁也。然則前朝尚有之矣. *Tan yuen luh* 丹鉛錄, *ap. Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 31, l. 6.

they have placed images in the tombs as substitutes for human victims, which change of custom was likewise caused by the progress of civilisation and still plays a part in Chinese life to this day.

The burying of images instead of human victims has obviously been in vogue since the time when cases of human sacrifices at burials are first mentioned by native authors. This is perfectly explicable, for, such immolations were probably not entered in the annals and chronicles until a growing aversion to them had, under the impulse of advancing culture, gained considerable ground. Indeed, it may be admitted that they were not deemed worthy of note so long as no one was shocked by them or pronounced his aversion to them. Already the *Cheu li* makes mention of the use of human effigies at burials. It has: »At interments, the Officer of the Grave » Mounds addresses the human images which are placed upon the » cars adorned with phenixes" [1]. No doubt these images were regarded as animate, as there would be no sense in making speeches to lifeless puppets.

Confucius is stated by the *Li ki* (chapter 12, l. 48 *seq.*) »to » have said: 'Those who make (valueless) implements for the manes » of the dead show that they are acquainted with the proper method » of celebrating obsequies, for, though such implements be ready » at hand, they are unfit for real use. Why, if implements of the » living were used for fitting out the dead, would there not be a » risk of this leading to the burying of human beings with the » dead?... Vehicles of clay and souls of straw have been in vogue » since olden times, and their use is based upon the same principle » as the use of implements for the manes'... Confucius declared » that those who made straw souls were virtuous, but those who » made wooden puppets were inhumane, for was there not a danger » of their leading to the use of living victims?" [2]

Those straw substitutes for human victims, thus warmly com-

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[1] 冢人及葬言鸞車象人. Chapter 21, l. 46.

[2] 孔子謂、爲明器者知喪道矣、備物而不可用也。哀哉、死者而用生者之器也不殆於用殉乎哉。。。塗車芻靈自古有之、明器之道也。。。孔子謂爲芻靈者善、謂爲俑者不仁、不殆於用人乎哉. Section 檀弓, II, 1.

mended by China's great philosopher, were, like the images of which the *Cheu li* speaks, regarded as being inhabited by human manes, as their name »souls of straw" indicates. They seem to have co-existed with the wooden burial puppets the use of which Confucius stigmatized as capable of leading to the burying of living persons; according to the general opinion of Chinese authors, these dangerous objects were a kind of automata with movable limbs, more closely resembling human beings than did the souls of straw. According to Mencius, »Confucius also said: 'Did not »he who first made wooden puppets remain without offspring »because of his having manufactured and used counterfeits of »men?'"[1] Chinese authors have never revealed to posterity the name of the individual thus chastised by the unseen powers for his execrable invention.

The national Sage having pronounced his anathema against the immolation of human beings at burials and earnestly pleaded for the use of substitutes, these latter have, thanks to the mighty influence of his doctrines and followers, ever been considered as requisites for the equipment of graves. As stated on page 403, it was customary during the Han dynasty to place straw puppets in great numbers in the imperial graves; but counterfeits of another make were at the time used as well. It is recorded that the emperor Kwang Wu, who reigned in the first century of our era, said on a certain occasion, that »anciently, at every burial of an emperor »or king, human images of stoneware, implements of baked clay, »wooden cars and straw horses were used, in order that later gene- »rations might take no notice of the sepulchral place"[2]. Wang Hu refers in his *Ts'ien fu lun* to the use of human counterfeits at burials of the higher classes (page 690). In the books of ensuing ages frequent mention is also made of them. The *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, written in the eighth century, has: »Houses and sheds, cars and »horses, male and female slaves, horned cattle and so forth are »made of wood. Before the dynasty of Cheu ruled the Empire, »cars of clay and souls of straw were in vogue; after that dynasty

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[1] 仲尼曰、始作俑者其無後乎、爲其象人而用之也. The works of Mencius, section 梁惠王, I, 4.

[2] 古者帝王之葬皆陶人、瓦器、木車、茅馬、使後世之人不知其處. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 1, second part, l. 19.

» wooden puppets were used" [1]. Under the Sung dynasty, Chu Hi taught in his Ritual for Family Life the custom of burying the dead with a good many wooden servants, followers and female attendants, all holding in their hands articles for use and food (see page 710); and during the rule of the House of Ming sixteen musicians, twenty-four armed body-guards, six bearers, ten female attendants and ten warriors, all made of wood and one foot in size, took rank among the things which were officially allowed by the statute rules to be placed in the tombs of grandees (see page 699).

Seeing that burying the dead with counterfeits of men was a subject of the close attention of moral leaders of the highest order and even of the legislators of the nation, the conclusion is forced upon us that such counterfeits have always been considered as having a virtual existence in the next world as living servitors, wives and concubines. In support of this inference we place before our readers the following tale, which, like everything committed to writing, is believed by the people to have really occurred:

» During one of the last generations there lived a man, who » used to travel the country as an itinerant trader in the environs » of the place where his family was settled. Having been accom- » panied on one of his his excursions for several days by a certain » man, the latter unexpectedly said: 'I am a ghost. Every day and » every night I am obliged to fight and quarrel with the objects » buried in my tomb for the use of my manes, because they oppose » my will. I hope you will not refuse to speak a few words for » me, to help me out of this calamitous state of disorder. What will » you do in this case?' — 'If a good result be attainable', replied » the trader, 'I dare undertake anything'. About twilight they came » to a large tomb, located on the left side of the road. Pointing » to it, the ghost said: 'This is my grave. Stand in front of it and » exclaim: 'By Imperial order! behead thy gold and silver sub- » jects!' and all will be over'. Hereupon the ghost entered the grave.

» The pedlar shouted out the order, and during some moments » he heard a noise like that produced by an executioner's sword. » After a while the ghost came forth from the tomb, his hands » filled with several decapitated men and horses of gold and silver. » 'Accept these things', he said; 'they will sufficiently ensure your

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[1] 刻木爲屋舍、車馬、奴婢、抵蠱等。周之前用塗車芻靈、周以來用俑. Chapter 13.

» felicity for the whole of your life; take them as a reward for » what you have done for me'.

» When our pedlar reached the Western Metropolis, he was de- » nounced to the prefect of the district by a detective from Ch'ang- » ngan city, who held that such antique objects could only have » been obtained from a grave broken open. The man gave the pre- » fect a veracious account of what had happened, and this ma- » gistrate reported the matter to the higher authorities, who sent » it on to the Throne. Some persons were dispatched to the grave » with the pedlar. They opened the grave, and found therein » several hundreds of gold and silver images of men and horses » with their heads severed from their bodies" [1].

Among the people of Amoy, only a faint vestige of the practice of burying human beings in effigy with the dead survives at the present day. As stated on pp. 24 and 93, they are accustomed to place a pair of so-called feet-slaves upon the couch on which the corpse is stretched, and encoffin them with the dead. While travelling through the province of Kiangsu, we have often witnessed burials at which some handfuls of straw were set on fire while the coffin was being lowered into the pit. Can this practice be a survival of the sacrificing of souls of straw, so fervently commended by Confucius? The present custom, mentioned on page 717, of burning for the dead counterfeits of attendants and servants and

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[1] 近世有人、旅行商鄉之郊。初與一人同行數日、忽謂曰、我乃是鬼。爲冢中明器叛逆、日夜戰鬬。欲假一言、以定禍亂。將如何。人云、苟可成事無所憚。會日晚、道左方至一大墳。鬼指墳言、是已塚。君於冢前大呼、有敕、斬金銀部落、如是畢矣。鬼言訖、入塚中。

人便宣敕、須臾聞斬決之聲。有頃鬼從中出、手持金銀人馬數枚、頭悉斬落。謂人曰、得此、足一生福、以報恩爾。

人至西京爲長安捉事人所告縣官云、此古器當是破塚得之。人以實對、縣白尹奏其事。發使人隨。開塚、得金銀人馬斬頭落者數百枚.

Kwang i ki 廣異記, a work probably written in the tenth century; *ap. Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 坤輿, chapter 140.

of male and female slaves, must be ranked likewise among the survivals of burying living persons with the dead, it being quite analogous with the burning of counterfeits of animals and lifeless property, which custom, as stated in our dissertation inserted on pp. 706 *sqq.*, doubtlessly owes its origin to the placing of real animals, valuables and articles of domestic use in the graves.

Stone Images placed inside and upon the Tombs.

The burying of living persons with the dead gave rise in times relatively ancient to a custom of erecting human figures of stone in the burial crypts. The oldest reference hereto is contained in the Miscellanies about the Western Metropolis. In describing the exploits of prince Khü-tsih (see page 289) in ransacking the mausolea of ancient sovereigns and magnates, this work relates: »The tomb of »Ling, a ruler of Tsin (between the years 619 and 605 before »our era) was gorgeous and imposing. Gibbons, hounds and torch-»bearers in stone were placed at the four corners, and further there »were over forty stone statues of males and females in waiting" [1]. As was stated on pages 397 and 398, half a dozen stone body-guards in full armour stood, according to the same work, arrayed in the sepulchral chamber of Ngai, the king of Wei; besides, there were forty stone women, quite a harem, enclosed in the back part of his crypt, in an apartment which was evidently intended to serve his manes as a bedroom.

Erecting stone statues in the graves seems to have been unusual during the Han dynasty, no mention of the custom being made in the books of that period. Full-sized or miniature human images in stoneware or of straw continued, however, to be buried with the dead, as was stated on page 808; there are also on record a few cases of copper images being placed in graves of persons of note. The *Sheu shen ki* makes mention of a grave in Kwang-ling [2], in the present province of Kiangsu, which, when opened in the third century, was found to contain »several human images cast in copper, five feet in size" [3]. We read also that Wang Yuen-siang [4], a magi-

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[1] 晉靈公冢甚瑰壯。四角皆以石爲玃犬捧燭、石人男女四十餘皆立侍. Chapter 6.

[2] 廣陵.

[3] 又鑄銅人數人長五尺. *Apud Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 坤輿, chapter 138.

[4] 王玄象.

strate of Hia-pʿei [1] in the province of Kiangsu, in the fifth century, on opening the mausoleum of a certain princely magnate, »found »therein more than a hundred pieces of gold in the shape of »silkworms, and human images in copper" [2]. But it became a general rule during the Han dynasty to erect stone statues *upon* the graves. This fact, no doubt, is connected with the circumstance that, as stated on page 796, in the same period it became an established rule on the death of an emperor or magnate to relegate the ladies of his seraglio to his sepulchral grounds and to make them settle there, which custom owed its origin to the ancient practice of interring them alive in the crypt. It also coincides with the commencement of the custom of stationing military guards upon such mausolea (comp. pages 435 and 436). We may presume that, in high antiquity, men of arms were often buried in the tombs of illustrious dead to serve them as life-guards in their future life, and we have stated above that guards in stone were arrayed *inside* the crypt in historical antiquity. Putting these facts together, it becomes obvious why, down to the present day, stone effigies of military men are found upon graves, keeping alive the memory of loyal ministers such as Yen-sih, Chung-hang and Chʿen-hu, who, in the dawn of history, followed their royal master into death as his faithful servitors and slaves (comp. page 722).

The oldest reference to statues erected upon graves is found in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, where it is stated that »many grave-statues were made and arrayed in the mountains" [3] for Hwoh Khü-ping [4], a celebrated magnate who died in the year 117 before our era. »This means", adds the commentator Yen Shi-ku, »that in front of the grave there were placed men and horses in stone" [5]. We may regard those horses as the substitutes of the living steeds that used to be concealed in the graves during the Cheu dynasty and even during that of Han (see pages 395 and 406). But the reader will remember that tigers, leopards, cows and various other animals used also to be placed in the mausolea of the Han emperors (see pages 406 and 409). This usage undoubtedly arose from the

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1 下邳.

2 有金蠶銅人以百數. History of the southern Part of the Empire, chapter 16, l. 15.

3 爲冢象祁連山. Chapter 55, l. 14.

4 霍去病.

5 冢前有石人馬者是也.

conception that the best of a defunct emperor's possessions ought to be sent with him to the next world, and that amongst these the rare and precious animals, sent from all parts of the Empire and its dependencies as tribute to the crown and kept by the monarch as curiosities, occupied a first place, thus naturally leading to the erection of images of such animals in his sepulchral grounds. To this day, figures in stone of lions or animals resembling the lion, of camels, elephants, sheep, unicorns (ki-lin) and other nondescript animals, are found in those places, arrayed on both sides of the avenue leading to the tumulus, in company with effigies of horses and civil and military officers.

References to such grave statues are sufficiently numerous to justify the conclusion that they have been in vogue ever since the Han dynasty. The Water Classic Commentary makes mention of them in connection with the mausolea of Chang Poh-nga and Yin Lien, two grandees of the Han dynasty (see page 446); besides it describes some other graves of the same period, which were likewise adorned with such statues; but we pass these by in silence. The *Shuh i ki* says: »In the Ta-ku mausoleum at Tan-yang there are to the »north two stone unicorns (ki-lin) of unknown date. Tradition »asserts it is the tomb of a high nobleman who lived under the »dynasties of Ts'in and Han, at which time evil was warded off »from the graves by means of stone figures representing such »animals"[1]. In the Books of the Sung Dynasty we read: »Since »the reign of the Han dynasty the dead throughout the Empire »have been sent to their tombs with extravagant prodigality. Stone »buildings and animals in stone, slabs of stone carved with cha»racters, and similar ornamentations have been made for them »on a large scale.... In the fourth year of the period Hien »ning (A. D. 278) the emperor Wu of the Tsin dynasty issued »a decree, stating that such stone animals and honorary memo»rial stones, inasmuch as they served for underhand glorification »and for the exalting of insignificant acts of no essential merit, »were more injurious to the people than anything else in ex»hausting their wealth, and therefore were entirely forbidden »and abolished by him"[2]. Stone figures of animals adorned also

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[1] 丹陽大姑陵陰下有石麟二枚、不知年代。傳曰、秦漢間公卿墓、則以石麒麟鎮之.

[2] 漢以後天下送死奢靡。多作石室、石獸、碑

the mausoleum of the fifth century of which a description has been given on page 440 (*q. v.*). The grandee Chao Siu [1], who lived in the first half of the sixth century, is recorded to have erected such figures, together with inscribed commemorative stones and pillars of the same material, in his father's supulchral grounds [2]. We read also that »in the sixth year of the T'ien kien period »(A. D. 507) the rules of burial were officially expounded in this »sense that no stone images of men or animals, nor inscribed »slabs of stone might be made on ordinary graves, but only »stone pillars, and a tablet bearing the name of the defunct" [3]. And »The Memoirs of the district of Shang-yuen" [4] in the present province of Kiangsu, speaking of the mausoleum of the emperor Wu [5] of the Ch'en dynasty, who died in A. D. 559, make mention of »stone animals still extant on the spot, which was at that time called the Stone Horses Avenue" [6].

The edict of the period T'ien kien, referred to above, proves that the placing of stone figures upon graves had before the T'ang dynasty already been consolidated into a formal institution of the State and had been enrolled among the prerogatives pertaining to emperors and magnates exclusively. This state of affairs has continued unaltered in ensuing ages.

It can scarcely be doubted that during the T'ang dynasty stone figures were also included among the appurtenances of the Imperial mausolea, for we learn that T'ai Tsu [7], the founder of the Cheu dynasty or the last of the five Houses which occupied the Throne during the half century between the downfall of the T'ang dynasty

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銘等物。。。晉武帝咸寧四年又詔曰、此石獸碑表既私褒美、典長虛僞、傷財害人莫大於此、一禁斷之. Chapter 15, l. 30.

1 趙脩.

2 Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 93, l. 12; and History of the Northern Part of the Realm, chapter 92, l. 7.

3 天監六年申明葬制、凡墓不得造石人獸碑、唯聽作石柱記名位而已. Books of the Sui Dynasty, chapter 8, l. 3.

4 上元縣志. 5 武.

6 石獸尙存、今呼石馬衝. *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 坤輿, chapter 130.

7 太祖.

and the rise of the Sung, forbade their erection for himself. »He » repeatedly admonished the Prince of Tsin (his Heir Apparent), » saying: 'If I do not rise from this sick-bed, you must quickly get » my mausoleum in readiness, lest I should be kept long unburied » in the Palace. Practise economy and simplicity in regard of my » mausoleum and its requirements, and lay it out as best suits » the mounts and hillocks themselves. The workmen and artisans » must all be employed of their own free will, and you may not » increase their numbers by transferring people to the spot from far » or near. Do not waste any manual labour in erecting stone » pillars on the mausoleum, but make pillars of masonry instead. » Put my corpse into a coffin of baked clay and wrap it in paper » clothes; and from the moment it is transferred to the mausoleum, » consign thirty families of the tax-paying people in the vicinity, » to watch over the grave hill. Before coffining me, you must » open the coffin of baked clay, and examine it thoroughly. And » when my corpse is being conveyed to the mausoleum, no human » lives may be destroyed under any pretext whatever, neither may » the sepulchral chamber be fitted out expensively. I do not want » any ladies of the Palace to dwell on my grave as warders. » No stone effigies of men, nor stone animals may be used for » me, but let there be erected one stone only, with the following » inscription upon it: 'The Son of Heaven of the Great Cheu » dynasty; — when the evening of his life broke, he covenanted with » the Heir Apparent that he should be buried in a coffin of baked » clay and in grave clothes of paper, for during his life he highly » appreciated frugality and simplicity'. If you deviate from these my » behests, my manes will not assist you from the Land of Shades'. » And he said further: 'When I was subduing the districts along » the Hwang-ho, I saw that the mausoleum parks of the eighteen » emperors of the family Li (*i. e.* of the T'ang dynasty), upon which » so much money, wealth and human labour had been wasted, had » all been forced open. Have you never heard that the emperor » Wen of the Han dynasty was buried with economy and in a » plain style in the Pa mausoleum, and that this sepulchral monu- » ment exists to this day? (comp. pages 407 and 408)' " [1].

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[1] 累諭晉王曰、我若不起此疾、汝卽速治山陵、不得久留殿內。陵所務從儉素、應緣山陵。役力人匠竝須和雇、不計近遠不得差配百姓。陵寢

The placing of stone figures upon tombs is but rarely referred to in the native literature of later ages. This must certainly be ascribed chiefly to the circumstance that the custom has sprung up in times relatively modern, and Chinese authors hardly deign to write upon subjects that are not mentioned in the old classic works. It is, however, perfectly superfluous to refer to the books for proofs of its having been widely prevalent during the two great dynasties of Sung and Ming, relics of those periods being sufficiently numerous to place this beyond all doubt. Archdeacon Gray relates that in the vicinity of Hang-cheu-fu, the capital of the province of Chehkiang, he saw the grave of Yoh Fei [1], a celebrated military commander of the twelfth century of whom our readers will find more particulars on page 826; the statues, he says, which form the approach, represent two ministers of state, four warriors, two horses, two rams, and two ki-lin or unicorns [2]. Many graves adorned in a corresponding manner we have ourselves seen on our journeys through the South-eastern provinces of the Empire; by far the most of them date from the Ming dynasty. This House regulated the number of images by the rescripts reproduced on page 452. In general the following rules have been observed with regard to their construction and arrangement. They are placed in two parallel rows, on either side of the avenue leading to the tumulus. Every two images placed opposite each other form a pair, being perfectly alike, both in size and attitude. In general they face the road, but in many cases their faces or heads are turned to the beginning of the avenue, and their backs or tails to

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不須用石柱費人功、只以甎代之。用瓦棺紙衣、臨入寢之時召近稅戶三十家爲陵戶。下事前揭開瓦棺徧視。過陵內切不得傷他人命、勿修下宮。不要守陵宮人。亦不得用石人石獸、只立一石記子、鐫字云、大周天子、臨晏駕與嗣帝約、緣平生好儉素、只令著瓦棺紙衣葬。若違此言、陰靈不相助。又言、朕攻收河府時、見李家十八帝陵園、廣費錢物人力、竝遭開發。汝不聞漢文帝儉素葬在霸陵原、至今見在. Old History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 113, l. 10.

1 岳飛.

2 China, chapter 12, page 310.

the grave. A uniform distance separates each pair from the next, but these distances differ for each grave, being in proportion to the superficies of the sepulchral grounds and the number of images, which two elements in their turn depend upon the rank and position of the occupant of the grave. The images are of granite or other natural stone, and each is cut out of one solid block. The human statues always stand upright, which is quite natural, as the laws of etiquette in China forbid any one to sit down when in attendance upon a superior. They are placed either at the beginning or the end of the rows, or partly at the beginning and partly at the end. They represent unarmed civil mandarins, dressed in long gowns with wide sleeves, and military officers, clad in armour and helmet. The former are always nearer the grave than the military, these either following next to them, or being placed at the beginning of the rows. They often carry a sheated sword on the left side, or have both hands resting upon the hilt of a sword placed on the ground between their feet. And as for the animals, they are either recumbent on their bellies or on their hind legs, or they are standing, the animals of each pair being in the same position. The horses are sometimes without harness, sometimes saddled.

In general the images are somewhat above life-size. The largest known by us to exist in China, viz. those which are placed along the approach to the Imperial mausolea of the Ming dynasty (see Plate XIII, opposite p. 452) are fully double the natural size. Sculpture has never developed into an art of high order in China. Consequently the grave statues are roughly carved, the features and attitude being devoid of life and expression, and exhibiting no idea of art on the part of the sculptor. On a few occasions we have met with images rudely cut from flat slabs of granite, probably in imitation of painted figures. It need scarcely be said that in most instances time and weather have done much in effacing the lines and features, especially in the southern provinces, where many of them have become no better than defaced and formless blocks of stone. Sometimes the avenue describes a curve, because the art of constructing graves to bring a maximum of prosperity to the offspring of the occupant objects to straight lines, as being extremely injurious when they terminate at a tumulus. In some cases, a little roofed wall, with either one or three gate-like entrances, opens upon the avenue and has over the middle entrance a wooden board, upon which a few large characters exhibit the name and dignity of the occupant of the

tomb. When kept in good repair by the descendants, such grave-grounds are sometimes surrounded on all sides by trees and thickets, inclosed by a wall.

The most beautiful avenue of the kind now extant in China is that forming the approach to the mausolea of the emperors of the late Ming dynasty, situated to the north of Peking. The figures, all of white, marble-like magnesian limestone [1], are about twice the natural size, though the biggest animals, viz. the elephants and camels, are not quite so large. Each figure with its flat, square pedestal, the base of which is sunk in the ground, is cut out of one single block of stone. Though not a single one of these stone men or animals deserves praise as being of high class workmanship, yet the latter resemble live animals sufficiently close to cause horses, not accustomed to the sight, to startle and even render it difficult for the rider to pass. Though many centuries old, they have all withstood remarkably well the influence of the atmosphere, to which they are exposed without any protection. Some of the elephants and camels have a few cracks, probably ascribable to the freezing of rain-water filtered into the pores.

These figures are arrayed along either side of the avenue, the several pairs facing each other. The distance between the two rows, or the breadth of the avenue, exceeds ten metres, and from each pair to the next the distance is over fifty-five paces, or about forty-three metres. The sequence is as follows. A pair of lions, squatted on their hind legs, each with a collar around its neck. A pair of the same animals, standing on four clumsy legs as shapeless as columns, all placed straight under them. Two pairs of non-descript monsters, with heads and manes like the lion and elephant-like feet; one pair are cowered down upon their haunches, the other are standing in the same attitude as the lions (see the second figure of Plate XX). Two camels couchant and two standing. Two elephants recumbent, with very long tusks, the forelegs below the knee stretched forward upon the ground, and their hind legs similarly stretched backward. Two elephants standing, their trunks hanging

1 This stone, obviously of the same kind as has been used in immense quantities for the construction of public edifices in the Metropolis, including the Palace, the several State Temples and the gigantic Imperial altars devoted to the worship of Heaven, Earth, the Sun, Moon etc., has often been called marble by European writers. Some fragments taken by us out of a crack in one of the elephants turned out, however, on a careful analysis, to be magnesian limestone of the formula $3\,Ca\,CO_3\,2\,Mg\,CO_3$.

Stone Animals along the Approach to the Imperial Mausolea of the Ming Dynasty.

down to the ground. Four scaled quadrupeds, viz. one pair squatted down on their hind legs, the next pair in a standing position; they have split hoofs, a stiff, scaled dorsal fin, heads reminding one of no other animal in existence, with a pair of straight horns bent backward, and hair pointing upwards as if fluttering in the wind. They represent the so-called ki-lin, as may be easily ascertained by comparing the first figure on Plate XX with Fig. 36, which is a picture of that fabulous animal reproduced from the

Fig. 36.

A Ki-lin.

Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing [1]. Finally come two recumbent horses and two standing horses, and six pairs of human statues, all in a standing attitude (see Plate XXI).

Of these human statues, the two first pairs are military officers having their heads covered with a helmet, and clad in armour which reminds one of a coat of mail, or of leather or wadded clothing studded all

1 Section 禽蟲, chapter 56.

over with small metal plates. A sash encircles the waist, and a sheathed sword hangs down on the left side. Two of these statues hold in their right hand a thin cylindric object resembling a short club, which rests upon the shoulder, and they have their left hand on the hilt of their swords; the next couple have both hands folded upon their breasts. Beyond them follow four couples of civilians, dressed in a long gown with sleeves so spacious that they hang down almost to the ground. In their hands, which are folded upon their breasts, they hold a so-called h w u h [1], a kind of tabula for taking down notes upon, which, since very ancient times, officers have been in the habit of carrying in their hands on appearing before their sovereign. »When a man of higher order shall go to his Ruler's » mansion", says the *Li ki* (chapter 41, l. 33), »he passes the night » in fasting and abstinence, occupies a back room outside the main » part of his house, washes his head and bathes his body. His secretary » brings his h w u h of ivory, that he may write down upon it what » he intends to communicate to his master, and how he shall answer » orders he may receive from the latter" [2]. »The Son of Heaven", says another chapter of the same Classic (42, pp. 25—28), »uses » a h w u h of fine jade, feudal rulers use one of ivory, and Great » officers one of bamboo adorned with figures of the cirri of fishes; » ordinary officers may use one of bamboo with the lower part of » ivory. When appearing before the Son of Heaven and at trials of » archery the h w u h is not laid aside. It is used also whenever » one has to point out anything to the Ruler, or to draw anything » before him. On visiting him to receive his orders, one writes » them on the h w u h. This tablet is two feet six inches (in length). » Its breadth is three inches in the middle, and it tapers away » one sixth at both ends" [3].

A similar avenue of stone figures adorns the approach to the ruined mausoleum of the founder of the Ming dynasty. Of this

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1 笏.

2 君子將適公所、宿齊戒、居外寢、沐浴。史進象笏、書思對命. Section 玉藻, 1.

3 笏天子以球玉、諸侯以象、大夫以魚須文竹、士竹本象可也。見以天子與射無脫笏。凡有指畫於君前用笏。造受命於君前則書於笏。笏度二尺有六寸。其中博三寸、其殺六分而去一. The same Section, II.

Stone Images along the Approach to the Imperial Mausolea
of the Ming Dynasty.

gigantic sepulchre to which attention has already been drawn on page 441, once the largest and most gorgeous perhaps ever built in China, the avenue alone is in good preservation. The statues are about the same in size as those of the Peking mausolea. They are of a kind of stone resembling granite, and many have a rather elevated square pedestal. The two rows are only four paces distant from each other. The arrangement of the statues is as follows. One pair of lions squatted down on their hind legs, and one pair of standing lions. One pair of unicorns squatted down, and one pair standing. Two recumbent and two standing camels. Two elephants recumbent and two standing. Two pairs of unicorns, like the preceding. One pair of horses recumbent and one pair standing. Two pairs of military officers with sheathed swords on the left side, holding up before their breasts with both hands a club with a globular head, which rests against the right shoulder. Two pairs of civil mandarins, holding a h w u h before their breasts with both hands.

It is well known that there exists also an avenue of stone figures in the mausolea of the emperors of the present dynasty. The *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* states that »there must be arrayed »to the right and left stone figures of civil ministers and »military officers, of unicorns, lions, elephants, horses, camels »and so forth"[1]. No detailed description can be given either of those statuary works or of other parts of the sepulchral grounds, as they are not open to public view, being jealously guarded by Manchu Bannermen against foreign and native intruders (comp. page 436).

In imitation of previous dynasties, the one now seated on the throne of China has made the decoration of tombs by an avenue of stone figures the exclusive privilege of the high nobility and the mandarinate. Such statuary works are never to be found on the tombs of commoners, however wealthy or distinguished they may be. The Imperial ordinance in force on this head runs as follows: »As to the erection of stone figures: for men of the first order of »nobility (k u n g) down to mandarins of the second rank there may »be two human figures of stone, two horses, two tigers, two sheep, »and two pillars. For mandarins of the third rank the human

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[1] 文臣武士及麒麟獅象馬駝等石像左右序列. Chapter 76, l. 2.

» figures shall be omitted; for the fourth rank the human figures » and the sheep shall be omitted; for the fifth rank the human » figures and the tigers shall be omitted" [1]. If we now refer to the Table given on page 452, we see that a regulation precisely similar was in force under the Ming dynasty. But these prerogatives warranted by the institutions of the State are seldom made use of by those for whose sake they were created. Not one out of the many graves with statues and figures, which we have seen in various provinces of the Empire, belonged to the present dynasty. We shall attempt to trace the reasons for this in Chapter XII.

Considering that the Sons of Heaven, in framing rules for their own funeral observances and those of their subjects, have always acted on precedents set by former dynasties, and taking into account the above gleanings from the native literature and our own researches in China, we may say for a fact that, since the Han dynasty, the animals placed in effigy on tombs have been chiefly horses, sheep, tigers, lions, camels, elephants and ki-lin. The horses and sheep represent the live stock buried with the dead in ancient times; the other animals must have some other signification, as they either represent wild beasts, or animals not indigenous to China. Doubtless we must consider them as representing the living articles of tribute from remote provinces or foreign dependencies, which the emperors in ancient times were in the habit of keeping in their parks or pleasure grounds as zoological curiosities or animals of state, and which they carried with them into their tombs as highly appreciated articles of their property. But this supposition has been set forth already on page 813. The ki-lin too, though generally believed by Europeans to be fabulous animals, may have been some rare kind of quadruped now entirely extinct, a quadruped seen so seldom in ancient China as to have given rise at a very early date to extravagant accounts bewildering to the nation's mind, and thus gradually assuming the shape of a zoological caricature. It is mentioned already in the *Shi king* [2] and in the *Li ki* [3] under

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[1] 設石像生、公至二品用石人石馬石虎石羊石望柱各二。三品減石人、四品減石人石羊、五品減石人石虎. *Ta Ts'ing tung li*, chapter 52, l. 11.

[2] Section 周南, ode 11.

[3] Chapter 32, l. 29, being the Section 禮運, III.

the name of lin [1], but neither of these works gives a description of it. The *'Rh ya* says »it has the body of an antelope, a tail like that of an ox, and one horn" [2], and the author of the *Shwoh wen* wrote in the first century of our era: »The ki-lin is an animal » possessed of humanity. It has the body of a horse, a tail like an » ox, and horns of flesh" [3]. Nowhere in books do we find any better account which could lead us to identify the animal. That it had but one horn is contradicted by later writers. And that it is generally described and depicted as covered with scales may, we think, be attributed to the circumstance that there exists in the Chinese language another word lin, which means fish-scales. Anciently, when the use of radicals in writing was unusual, both this word and the name of the animal, now respectively written 鱗 and 麟, were depicted by the phonetic element 粦 only.

If we may place trust in the statement of the *Shuh i ki*, cited on page 813, it follows that the erection of stone unicorns on the graves of grandees dates from very early times, even from before the Han dynasty. In the Miscellanies about the Western Metropolis there is a passage which confirms this. »Near the Palace of the » five Tsoh trees grow five Tsoh trees; to the west of that edifice » there is a look-out with a green Wu tree, and in front of this » stand three Sterculia trees, which overshadow two unicorns in » stone. On the flanks of these animals characters are engraved. » They have stood upon the tomb in mount Li, wherein the em- » peror Shi Hwang of the Ts'in dynasty was buried. Their heads are » thirteen feet from the ground. The left foreleg of the animal on » the east side is broken off, and the fracture secretes a red blood- » like stuff which the elders say possesses supernatural power. It » is taken by everybody as a tonic" [4].

Considering that unicorns have always occupied a peculiar

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1 麟.

2 麏麚身、牛尾、一角. Section 18.

3 麒麟仁獸也。馬身、牛尾、肉角.

4 五柞宮有五柞樹、其宮西有青梧觀、觀前有三梧桐樹、樹下有石麒麟二枝。刋其脇爲文字。是秦始皇酈山墓上物也。頭高一丈三尺。東邊者前左脚折、折處有赤如血、父老謂其有神。皆含血屬筋焉. Chapter 3.

position in the opinion of the people as animals of good omen, we arrive at another reason for their being erected upon mausolea and tombs. They have, indeed, always been believed to forebode the appearance in this world of excellent princes and leaders who would render the nation prosperous and happy by uniting them peacefully under the benevolent sway of perfect political and moral rescripts. There is an old legend, already touched upon on page 181, that a unicorn made its appearance at the birth of Confucius, and numerous instances of its having been beheld in various parts of the Empire are recorded as fortunate events in historical and other treatises, including the Standard Histories. In a work entitled *Khung Tsʿung-tszĕ*[1] or »The Philosopher Khung Tsʿung", which is a collection of the sayings and doings of Confucius and some of his posterity by the hand of one Khung Fu[2], a descendant of the Sage, who held a high official position during the reign of Shi Hwang, we read that Confucius, on being consulted about a newly captured unicorn, said: »When benefits shall be distributed »over mankind by a Son of Heaven and universal peace shall ob- »tain through him, unicorns, phenixes, tortoises or dragons are the »harbingers of it"[3]. The *Shwoh wen* signalized, as stated above, the unicorn as a symbol of love for mankind. No doubt those and similar conceptions have had great influence upon the erection of unicorns in stone upon the tombs of emperors and governors. Their presence on a grave must, moreover, have been esteemed a great boon to the soul dwelling thereunder, in view of the fact that peace and happiness were expected to prevail wherever they made their appearance.

The creation of happiness being identical with the neutralisation of misfortune, unicorns have from a very early age been entrusted with the guardianship of tombs from unseen evil influences. The *Shuh i ki* states indeed that under the dynasties of Tsʿin and Han evil was warded off from graves of the high nobility by such animals in stone (see page 813). It is not improbable that the other grave-animals were equally connected with superstitions relating to the invisible powers of evil and the means of counter-

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[1] 孔叢子.

[2] 孔鮒.

[3] 天子布德、將致太平、則麟鳳龜龍先爲之祥. § 5, 記問.

acting them. For, these animals standing, as they do, in the same position in front of the graves as the ki-lin and the human statues which symbolize the living victims formerly buried with the dead and supposed to hover in a spiritual state about the spot like life-guards and servitors for the protection of the manes of the person interred, would naturally in process of time also get to be regarded as guardians of the tomb.

Their position of counter-actors of evil powers was evidently in the mind of the author of the *Wu hioh luh*, when he wrote: »The » *Fung-suh t'ung i* says: 'The mang-siang are addicted to devouring » the liver and brains of the dead. Hence it is that Rescuers of » the Country were employed on the day of interment to descend » into the grave pit and to drive out those beings. Such Rescuers » were, moreover, erected at the side of the graves; and as the » mang-siang fear cypresses and tigers, cypresses were planted » in front of the tombs and tigers erected thereon. The *Chih* » *kuh tszĕ*[1] says that since the dynasties of Ts'in and Han stone » images of men, sheep and tigers, and pillars of stone have been » erected on tombs to represent the body-guard maintained by the » deceased during his life. It is to this that the present men, animals » and pillars in stone owe their origin. Such statues of men are » sometimes called wang-chung, and such stone pillars Signal- » izers of Glory"[2].

We must, however, demur to the assertions contained in this extract. Setting aside the fact that the passage in the *Fung-suh t'ung i*, to which the author alludes, is not to be found in the copies which we have seen of this book, we have never found in any other Chinese work but his a single word as to Rescuers of the Country having been taken as models for grave-statues, nor have we ever seen an image of them on a tomb. The part those individuals played in ancient China as expellers of disastrous influences caused by fang-liang or mang-siang and other evil spirits,

1 A work of one Wang Jui 王睿, who lived under the T'ang dynasty.

2 風俗通云、罔象好食死人肝腦。故葬日爲方相氏入壙驅之。又立方相於墓側、罔象畏柏與虎、故墓前植柏立虎。炙轂子曰、秦漢以來墓有石人羊虎柱、如生前儀衛。此石人石獸石柱之所由起也。石人一名翁仲、石柱一名華表. Chapter 17, l. 3.

has been explained on pages 161 and 162, and on page 469. Had their effigies ever been erected in ancient China on places of sepulchre, the conservatism of the nation warrants us in saying they would have been set up there in modern times. As to the name wang-chung, it seems that, anciently, it was pretty common to denote human images by it; but no Chinese author has as yet succeeded in giving a plausible explanation of the origin of this word.

There is sufficient reason to believe that grave-images were sometimes made for the purpose of glorifying the dead by representing their brilliant exploits or some important event in their lives. We read *e. g.* concerning the mausoleum of T'ai Tsung [1], the second monarch of the T'ang dynasty, that »images of Hieh Li and other »foreign princes and chieftains whom he had captured and subdued, »fourteen in all, were cut in stone in the Ching kwan period »(A. D. 627—649) and arrayed (in his mausoleum) inside the northern Marshall's Gate" [2]. »And the Useful Mirror for the Western »Lake informs us that the iron statues on the grave of Yoh (Fei) »were cast in copper by Li Lung, governor of the capital, in the »eighth year of the period Ching teh of the Ming dynasty (A. »D. 1513). They were three in number, representing Ts'in Kwei, »Madam Wang and Wan Sze-li, lying prostrate in front of the »tomb, with their hands on their backs. Wanderers visiting the »spot had cudgelled them for a long time, when Fan Chu, an »Assistant Provincial Supreme Judge, had new iron images cast »in the period Wan lih (1573—1619), adding to their number »one of Chang Tsun. Those of Madam Wang and Chang Tsun »have now, alas, disappeared" [3]. Yoh Fei was a celebrated military Commander-in-Chief in the twelfth century, a leading person in the

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[1] 太宗.

[2] 及貞觀中擒服諸番君長頡利等十四人像琢石、列之北司馬門內. Memoirs of the District of Li-ts'uen, 醴泉縣志, quoted in the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih ch'ing*, section 坤輿, chapter 130.

[3] 西湖便覽記、岳墳鐵像明正德八年都指揮李隆鑄銅爲之。乃秦檜、王氏、萬俟卨三像、反接跪墓前。久被遊人撻碎、萬歷中按察副使范洙更鑄以鐵、而添張俊一像。惜乎、今沒王氏張俊矣. *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 41, l. 11.

struggle of Kao Tsung [1] of the Sung dynasty against the Kin Tatars who, having conquered the northern half of the Empire, had forced the Court to remove to Hang-cheu-fu, at present the provincial capital of Chehkiang. Ts'in Kwei was a minister of the same monarch, through whose machinations Yoh Fei was disgraced and put to death; and Chang Tsun and Wan Szĕ-li, respectively a high military officer and a civil grandee, in combination with Madam Wang had played a leading part in the complot. Ever since, Yoh Fei has been the hero of historians who have held him up as a paragon of loyalty to the Throne; whilst the others have always been regarded by the nation as vile intriguers and traitors to the good cause of the Empire. The four images are still on the spot at the present day, for Gray reports having seen them [2]. The same writer states that there are also stone images of men and animals on the grave (see page 816), so that it is quite clear the metal statues are exceptional, having no connection with the rest of the ornamentation.

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1 高宗.

2 China, chapter 12, page 312.

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